

SEPTEMBER, 1923

20 CENTS

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

AN ILLUSTRATED LABOR MAGAZINE



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Rally to the Defense!

The seventh Christmas many of our fellow workers in Leavenworth have spent in prison is approaching.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended since 1917 in an effort to get them out.

It has been a hard fight and a long one. The federal cases in the beginning represented the storm-center of the class struggle in America. War prejudice prevailed, the newspapers were against us, feeling ran high, the political prisoner issue was generally misunderstood and it seemed almost impossible to get the facts before the people. Now, however, all this has changed. All indications now point to an early release.

Victory Is In Sight!

A large body of intelligent public opinion favors immediate and unconditional amnesty. Hundreds of big newspapers and magazines have declared themselves against the further imprisonment of our fellow workers. Prominent statesmen, churchmen, lawyers and publicists have come out openly in favor of release for political prisoners.

Friends of amnesty have multiplied by the thousands. All are willing and eager to work for the cause of amnesty. Organized Labor is beginning to learn that these cases are of vital concern to every man and woman who works for a living. The time was never more propitious for an effective amnesty drive than at present. The General Defense Committee has arranged for such a drive on a huge scale. The slogan is:

Free Political Prisoners by Christmas!

We must get out publicity on a bigger scale than ever before. We must organize and co-ordinate all the forces in America that favor amnesty. Defense pamphlets, leaflets, letters, and articles must be circulated in large numbers to reach all classes of people. Meetings all over the country, some of them at least as large as the Borah meetings, must be arranged for and advertised. All possible pressure must be brought to bear upon the administration in Washington between now and Christmas.

Let's all put our shoulders to the wheel and get the federal cases out of the way so we can concentrate upon the state cases and wipe the slate clean. Let's get all of our imprisoned members on the street so we can buckle down to the work of organizing and educating the millions of workers in America and the World. LET'S MAKE THIS THE LAST DRIVE THAT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE MEN IN LEAVENWORTH!

Funds are needed as never before. Fellow workers, kick in with the defense stamps and donations at once. All together now, in deadly earnest

Rally to the Defense!



Vol. I.

The
Industrial Pioneer

No. 5

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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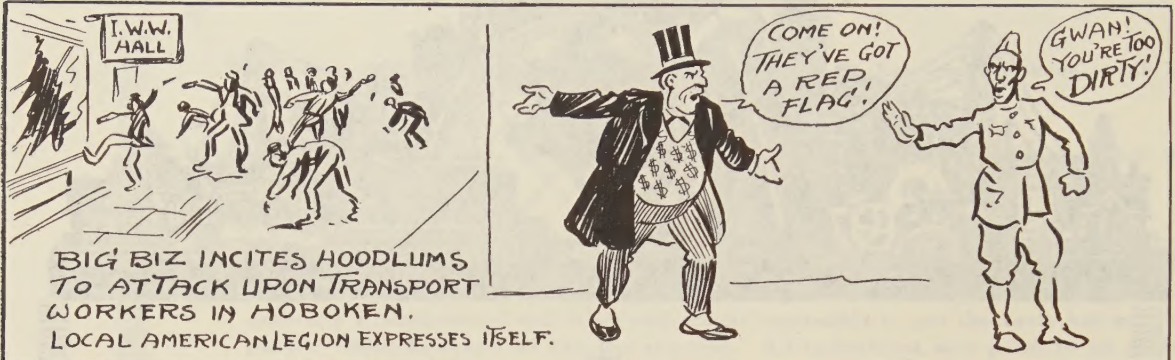
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CURRENT EVENTS



AS SEEN BY THE PIONEER'S CARTOONIST

Where We Are Standing

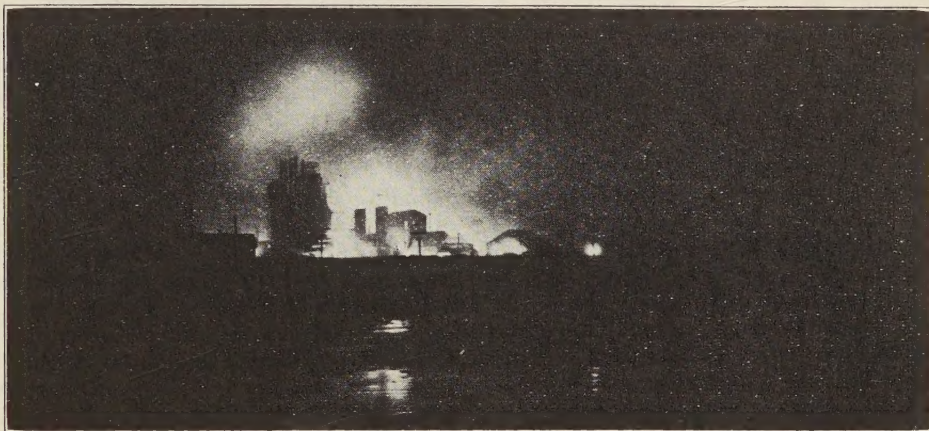
"We are standing on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate . . . The preeminence of the state politically conceived has been called into question . . . Other forms of corporate organization are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social organization in its essence unpolitical . . . 'Industrialism,' which may serve to denominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history."—WM. KAY WALLACE, in his book, "The Trend of History."

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1923

No. 5



BLAST FURNACES, NEW CASTLE, PA., AT NIGHT

The Steel Workers Awakening

By FRED W. BOWERMAN

A STEEL worker, begrimed from smoke and grease, tired from the twelve hour grind, passes through the mill gates toward the place he calls home. A drink to help fight off that constant tired feeling, a hurried supper to fill that emptiness which plays around his belt and to throw himself into a sagging bed for some rest, are the things uppermost in his mind.

A soiled coat is carried over one arm, which in turn is shoved thru the handle of a dented dinner bucket. As he moves along his pace quickens with the realization that there is no time to lose if he is to snatch some sleep during the cooler morning hours. The August sun will soon be high and the torrid heat of the summer day will soon be upon him. He must be asleep before that, if he is to sleep at all. Mother Nature has provided that he sleep with the quiet coolness of night, but the mill instead demands he be in front of a roaring furnace. He must sleep, if at all, with the noise of moving traffic, cussing teamsters and the yelling of the urchins whose only playground is the space before his shack. Eat, work sleep; Saturday, Sunday, Monday, day after day, night after night, and every day in the year, that is his program, for he is one of the cogs in the great human machinery, which keeps the mill and hundreds of other mills in the valley in motion. He is but one among thousands of others whose lives are poured into the molten metal which flows in a never ending stream from the steel mill to the auto plants, railroad shops, etc.

MEN, MEN, MEN; big and little, fresh and worn, black, white, brown and yellow. Old men and young boys, Poles, Slavs, Mexicans, Negroes, and Americans. These pour out of the mill gates every night and morning. Men, smoke, and stacks; all for STEEL. Steel for whom and what might we ask? Why; steel for the JUDGE of course. And might we further inquire who is the Judge? Why, certainly; he is the master of men and money, the master of smelters, ore mines, ore boats, railroads and steel mills. Hundreds of workers in each mill and hundreds of mills throughout the Valley and the Calumet. Steel workers, ore boat and railroad workers, and miners on the Mesaba all keeping time with a given beat. Long hours, low wages, unbearable conditions is the lot of all. A master of thousands and thousands of men that is who the Judge is. An iron master; a tyrant master; a cruel master. He personifies giant capitalism, for whose profit the steel workers labor.

And what are the tons and tons of steel which are produced every twenty-four hours used for? What becomes of it? Where does it go? To ten thousand places for ten thousand uses is the answer. For railroads, and their engines; street cars, bridges, boats, flying machines, cannon, shells, looms, lathes, steam hammers, automobiles, steam shovels, mowing machines, reapers, dishes, stoves, nails, screws, scales, typewriters, tin, cans, jails, locks, printing presses, and we might add, etc., etc., etc., for the service to which steel is put in our present

society is beyond the estimation of any one or a dozen men. Everything that man uses today is the result of steel. The workers in the ore mine, on the ore boats and railroads and in the steel mills are the builders of industry,—of society; for this is the age of metal—of steel.

Today, the workers, upon leaving or entering the mill are thinking about something besides food, sleep and work. They are realizing that twelve hours of hard labor out of every twenty-four should bring them something more than cheap food, cheap clothes and a cheap room. They are beginning to understand that as individuals they are the victims of a system which looks upon them with contempt. Alone, each man for himself, the twelve hour day and the rule of Gary will be handed on to their children and their children's children.

They have come to know that their only hope lies in organization. That organized together, in the mills, on the great lakes, on the railroads, in the mines, they are in important part of industrial society. The whole world depends upon the commodity they produce. Industry cannot go along without steel and there must be tons and tons of it produced every day. The whole manufacturing industry must have steel from which to make its products. If so, then let the steel workers receive a decent standard of living while producing steel. This is what is becoming the uppermost thought in the steel worker's mind. He is important, when organized with his fellow workers. He is nothing, while he remains unorganized. He is sick of empty promises. He is overfed on what will be done after-

while or next year. **HE WANTS SOMETHING NOW**, and he is not going to wait for someone to give it to him.

The steel workers are answering the call of the One Big Union. They sense in the I. W. W. idea of organization the real way that results can be obtained. They are responding to the Industrial Union program and are going to smash the twelve hour day. Three years back and the twelve hour day was stable, sound, good business, according to the captains of industry. For three years the steel workers have been working twelve hours and reading I. W. W. literature. For three years they have been preparing for organization, industrial organization and the industrial strike. The steel workers are now lining up in the One Big Union of the I. W. W., together with their fellow workers on the Great Lakes, on the railroads and in the mines. Lining up for what: To smash the twelve hour day, Garyism, and all that goes with it.

The steel industry is the open wedge to Eastern Industry. Upon the success of the steel drive depends the success of the O. B. U. The steel masters may have their millions, their lackeys, their past success in smashing craft unions, but with the workers in the steel mills lining up in the I. W. W. their power is doomed. The I. W. W. is moving, and moving ahead in the proper direction. Let the tramp of their marching feet be heard around the world. The tables will be turned and the slaves of steel shall be the masters of themselves. Let the slogan be "Smash the twelve hour day." On with Industrial Organization.

The I. W. W. Steel Drive

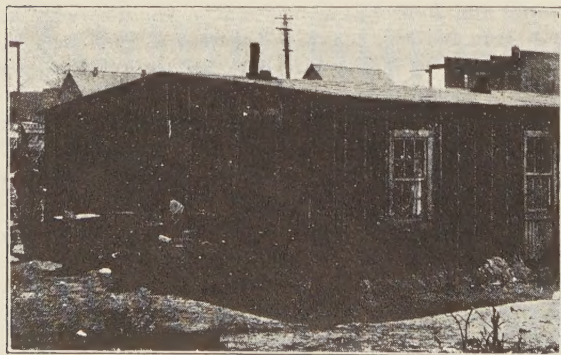
ONE of the most important campaigns ever undertaken by the I. W. W. is the campaign of organization among the steel workers, launched at an enthusiastic mass conference of the members of Metal-Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440 at Toledo, Ohio, on July 22. All of the members of 440's General Organization Committee, headed by Chairman Alfred Anderson, as well as General Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. H. Thompson, were present. So were delegates from

many steel towns, such as Detroit, Bethlehem, McKeesport, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Warren, Niles, Youngstown, Canton, Middletown, Cincinnati, Newport, Wheeling, Martin's Ferry, South Chicago, Gary, Chicago Heights, Waukegan and Joliet.

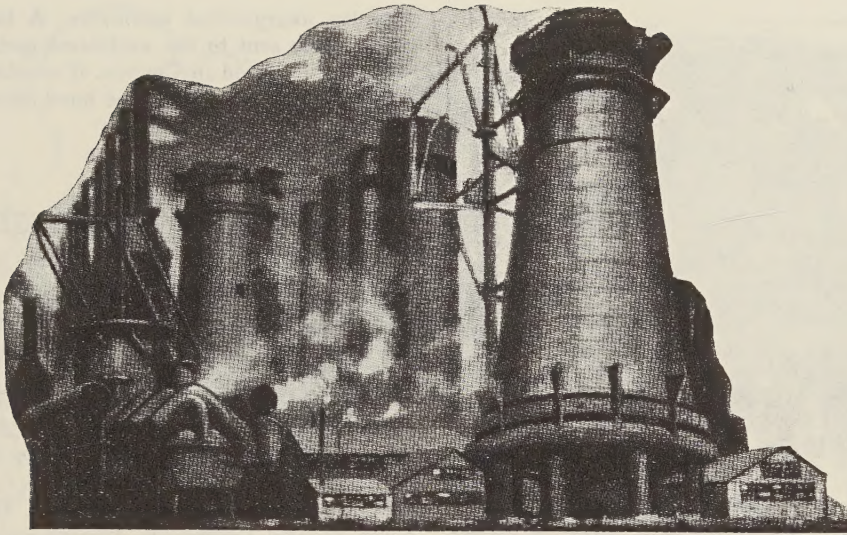
The slogan resulting from the conference is: "Smash the twelve hour day, abolish the 7 day week, and make \$5 the minimum wage for the unskilled steel worker."

The conference was marked by the directness with which the delegates attacked the task in hand. There was no digging up of ancient grievances or criticism of what might have been. Instead plans to make the campaign effective were immediately taken up and considered, with good results. This was due to the fact that the Toledo conference was demanded by the membership and because it was held amid conditions that made decisive action both opportune and necessary.

Among the many things done was the raising of money. This, the first necessity, was met by the pledges of those present, to raise a fund sufficient to initiate the campaign. A committee of four on ways and means was also elected. Other committees of equal importance are a committee of three on finance, a committee of three on perfecting or-



Steel Workers' Shack, Gary, Ind.



Copulas at Bethlehem.

ganization, a committee of five on publicity and a committee of three on steel workers' organization.

The last two committees have been actively at work since the conference adjourned. In fact, the main headquarters of Metal-Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., where they meet, has been greatly transformed. The rooms have been doubled in capacity and the office force has been greatly increased. General-Secretary Treasurer, Wm. H. Thompson, is kept busy answering the phone and giving newspapermen information regarding the conference and its plans. The Federated Press and Associated Press have both given considerable space to the I. W. W. campaign among the steel workers. More importance is attached to I. W. W. activities in the steel industry, apparently, than to any other factor there.

The newspaper announcements of the holding of the Toledo conference caused considerable stir in that city. The headlines were of large type and the effect was instantaneous. The Director of Public Safety announced that as Toledo was a city of wage workers and manufacturers who desired peace, no conference of the I. W. W. would be tolerated. The Rotary Club at a special meeting held on Friday evening, July 20, passed resolutions affirming their determination to stand by this violator of constitutional rights of free assemblage.

However, when July 22 came, the conference was held, with the record-breaking attendance already noted.

It required some strategy on the part of the local members and the delegates, but it was accomplished, nevertheless, in a manner complimentary to the brain work of the I. W. W. There was no clash, no free speech fight, no compromise. But the director of safety and his "sleuths" were outwitted by men who consider him, not a protector of industrial peace, but industrial slavery, as embodied in the 12 hour day of the steel trust, which has been condemned by

the religious and engineering societies of the land as degrading and unnecessary.

The conference lasted 7 hours and was held in one of the best known halls in Toledo. No one was permitted to leave during the conference. Conductors were stationed at the door, and cards had to be shown. Many local members of other industrial unions than 440 were present also. And all this while the "sleuths" were trying to locate those "terrible I. W. W.'s."

The delegates to the Toledo conference began to arrive in that city on Saturday, July 21. They came mostly in autos, as the most economical and appropriate means of travel for steel workers. They were in earnest and intent on doing good organizational work. They had plenty of thrills and excitement, thanks to the press, but never lost their heads once.

Street meetings by all organizations are permitted in Toledo. But the I. W. W. was forbidden to hold one on Saturday evening, July 21. This by a policeman who, when questioned about the constitution of the United States and free speech, replied that he knew nothing about the constitution—except to violate it, most likely. However, as Glenn B. Fortney, the chairman, and another speaker had already spoken about an hour, explaining the coming I. W. W. drive in the steel industry to about 500 people, it was felt that the object of the meeting was already accomplished; and so nothing further was done. The desire to keep the conference intact also prevailed.

But on Sunday evening, July 22, with the conference over and good results accomplished, a free speech meeting was opened at the same place. M. Raddock, the speaker who was stopped the evening before, opened up. He talked a considerable time on the decisions of the conferences, regarding the drive in the steel industry. He also took up a good collection as a beginner to support the drive. Nothing

(Continued on page 32)



HARVEST TIME

—From Tie Vapauteen.

Big Gains for I. U. No. 110

A GAIN of over 60 per cent in membership for July, 1923, as compared with July, 1922, such is the success of the membership drive of Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, I. W. W. August returns, incomplete as they are in the opening weeks, indicate a continuance of this greater growth. To make this increase permanent is the present endeavor of 110.

The most remarkable part of this increase is that it has been obtained in the face of an opposition that practically resorted to slavery in order to beat the I. W. W. In some towns in the Dakotas, the commercial clubs and common councils have combined to send to jail harvest workers refusing to accept the wages and conditions proffered. There is no economic freedom in these districts; and yet the I. W. W. grows despite it—or is it, because of it?

110 is interested in general strike. A program for same has been outlined by the general organization committee. It leaves date of same to latter; and advocates preliminary job organization primarily.

A conference to be held at Stockton, California, has been called for Sept. 1st. California is regarded as the key to the I. W. W. With the surrender of California the barriers to organization will disappear everywhere. The best efforts of the organization will be devoted towards getting as many courageous delegates and members as possible to make the drive to organize California agricultural workers this summer.

Like the other industrial unions, 110 is trying to

organize unorganized territory. A traveling delegate will be sent to the northwest section; and also one will be placed in Canada, if conditions develop.

110 is pushing the bail and bond stamp, with good results.

Coming Conferences

A General Construction Workers' Conference will be held at Portland, Ore., on October 1st, to elect delegates to the convention from District No. 1, which includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

District No. 3, including Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, North and South Dakota and Minnesota, will also meet in conference at Casper, Wyoming, on October 1st.

Another conference at Stockton, Calif., will include Nevada, California, Arizona and New Mexico.

The Industrial Worker, western organ of the I. W. W., is to get new presses and move into new quarters. It has been a financial success for two years, and since the first of February has been printed twice a week. It is now conducting a campaign for 10,000 new subscribers.

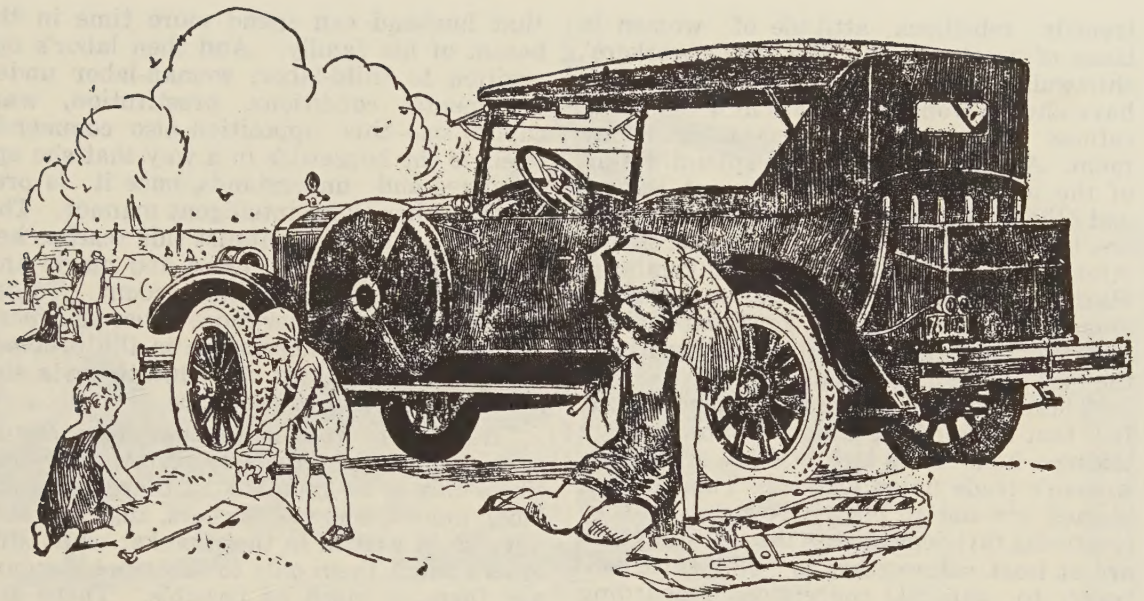
WHEN THE HARVESTER

IS NOT A-HARVESTING

This chart shows the "customary" occupations of 32,000 wheat harvesters. One-third of them gave farm work as their regular job, one-third were laborers, and one-third skilled workers from cities. The percentages are not absolutely accurate, for the relative proportion of harvesters of the several types varies from season to season. Data collected in 1919, 1920 and 1921 indicates that the distribution as given in this chart is substantially correct.

—The Survey.





When Work Women Organize

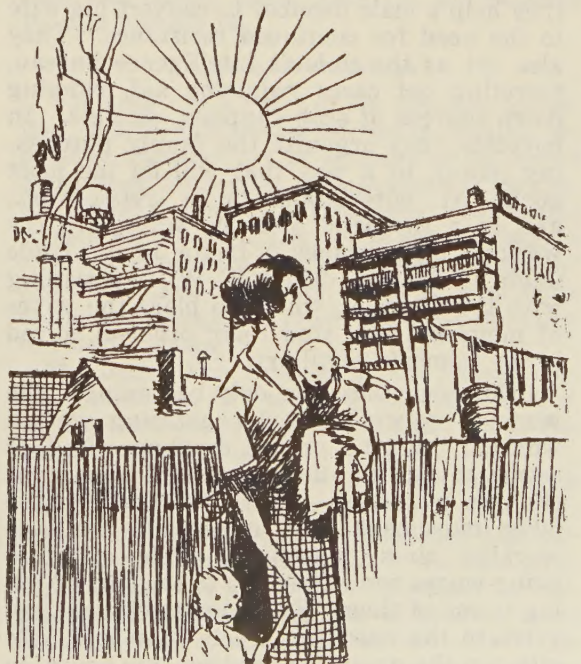
There will be More Autos, Wives and Kiddies at the Beaches and Less Starvation and Misery in the Tenements

IN France, before the world war, the General Confederation of Labor, was busy inaugurating a campaign of education among working class women. It was recognized that the wives, daughters and sweethearts of the men workers are great factors in settling working class issues. The conservatism of the working class housewife has broken many a working class strike. So also has the conservatism of many a woman working in the factory or shop. Hence, the French idea, which was to promote a better understanding of labor organization and its ideals, by means of lectures, illustrated, principally, by movies. But the world war interfered; and nothing has been heard of the idea since.

No doubt, though, it is a good, a necessary idea, not only in France, but here in the U. S. A. as well. In this country the working class women lag behind the working class men, in a lack of understanding regarding Labor and its problems; though, it might be added, the lead held by the men is not much to boast about, especially out loud. Nevertheless, it exists; as shown in the more extensive organization among the men. There are about 18,000,000 housewives in this country. No doubt they are most largely working class. There are also between eight and nine millions of women wage workers. This is twice the membership of all the labor or-

ganizations. Very few of these women wage workers are organized; hence the imperative need of educating and organizing them, as well.

It will not do to start off with a negative argument, saying "Woman is instinctively conservative." This is not proven by the ex-



tremely rebellious attitude of women in times of great strikes. The textile workers', shirtwaist, shoeworkers', and other strikes have shown women workers in a light that refutes "the inherent-conservatism" argument. And then think of the splendid fight of the miners' wives in the recent Kansas and other great strikes! The women workers, too, have great leaders in Mother Jones, Alexandra Kollantay, Rosa Luxemborg, Maria Spiridonova, and others too numerous to mention. Women are as good material for agitation, education and organization as are the men; so let us go to it!

There is further encouragement in the fact that some of the women themselves are taking a hold of the task and are organizing women's trade union leagues. Though such leagues are not to be encouraged, as they create sex divisions among the workers, they are at least noteworthy, as they exist contrary to general conceptions regarding woman's ability and willingness to organize economically. Where women do not constitute the bulk of wage workers—and, in some industries they do—it is better that they organize on industrial lines together with the men; thus making their own forces and the forces of all concerned that much stronger.

Women are also taking an active part in forming auxiliaries to the trade unions. These auxiliaries include the wives, daughters and sweethearts of members. They are very useful in times of strikes. Then they visit the wives of weak-kneed members; and through them strengthen the strike line. Or they help a male member to convert his wife to the need for continued resistance. They also act as the union's intelligence bureau, ferreting out cases requiring aid, running down sources of scab supplies, etc., etc. In boycotts, they organize the family purchasing power, in a way that will do the most good. At entertainments, in relief work, and in a thousand and one ways, are the working class women a factor in the trade union auxiliaries. The I. W. W., in wrestling with the question, where to place the wives of members, will find their problem solved in the women's' auxiliary.

However, these are only beginnings. The work of educating and organizing women workers must be pushed further. And, it seems it can be done without any great changes in tactics. There is much in the labor movement that commends itself to working class housewives. The effort to bring wages somewhere up to the cost of living is one of them. Every housewife can appreciate the need for such measures. So also can she grasp the need for less hours, so

that husband can spend more time in the bosom of his family. And then labor's opposition to child-labor, woman-labor under detrimental conditions, prostitution, war, capitalism—this opposition also commends itself to the housewife in a way that she appreciates and understands, once it is presented to her in an intelligent manner. The trouble is that the capitalist side reaches her most, through church, press and movie and impresses her most on that account. To get labor's side before her more often and more attractively than heretofore is the problem that the French idea of education via the movie would help to overcome.

As for the woman wage-workers, she is turning towards labor organization, sometimes only to be repulsed, as there are some labor unions, like the barbers, that are still adverse to women in their ranks; while still others admit them only to snub and discourage them as much as possible. There are still plenty of men who hold women responsible for the competition created by the introduction of machinery and the consequent destruction of skill. There is also considerable sex-prejudice extant.

But there is no such discrimination to be found in progressive trade-unionism, nor in real industrial unionism. They both recognize that woman is a factor in industry, to be organized in order to promote the interests of all the workers employed therein. Especially is this true of industrial unionism, which makes no distinctions of either race, color, creed or sex; and *organizes all the workers just as they work for their employers into industrial unions reflecting their industrial, or technical, unity.*

In industrial unionism, the women have exactly the same standing as the men. They are eligible to all the offices; and have the same rights, duties and privileges. No attempt is made to discourage them. On the contrary, they are urged forward with all the speed possible, sometimes, too much so. But that's the case with the men, too, quite often.

The intense persecution to which industrial unionism has been subjected since the American entrance into the world war could not have been successfully resisted had it not been for the steadfast adherence of its women members. The rebel girl has stuck to the rebel boy without faltering. She has been a source of cheer and inspiration, raising funds, securing publicity, organizing prison comfort clubs, going out on strike, and assisting in every way possible to make the ideals of industrial unionism come true.

May her numbers increase. Every addition to them is sure of a hearty welcome.



Internationalism at Detroit

CAPITALISM is international. It knows no boundaries. In Europe, the aeroplane is commercialized and flies over the whole continent, regardless of the warring nationalities below. The commercial aeroplane, no doubt, foreshadows and symbolizes, in a practical manner, the internationalism that is yet to be.

Here in Detroit, we are also making for internationalism, but in a different way. Opposite, on the other side of the Detroit River, once known as the St. Claire, lies the city of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. This district is becoming the Canadian adjunct of American capitalism. Two hundred and five factories are now located in the Windsor district. Fifty-five are American. It is said that they have located there in order to save preferential trade taxes and to develop their export trade in a manner that will enable them to share in the tariff advantages with the British Empire. But there is another reason in the cheap, unorganized, raw labor supplies to be found across the border.

Seventy additional American firms are now negotiating with the Border Chamber of Commerce, Windsor Ontario, for factory sites on which to construct manufacturing establishments.

Consider the following partial list of big American corporations now located in the Windsor district:—Studebaker Corporation, Fisher Body Co., Maxwell Motor Co., Motor Products Co., Wilt Twist Drill Co., Kerr Engine Works, Berry Bros Varnish Co., Grinnell Piano Co., D. M. Ferry Co., Burroughs Adding Machine Co., Champion Spark Plug Co.,

Bayer Co., Devilbis Mfg. Co., Barton-Netting Co., General Motors Corporation, Ford Motor Co., Remington Arms Co., Trussed Concrete Steel Corp., United States Playing Card Co., Parke-Davis Co., Coca-Cola Co., Buhl Stamping Co., Hayes Wheel Co., Hupp Motor Co., Postum Cereal Co., Stearn Drug Co., Toledo Comp. Scale Co. and Standard Paint & Varnish Co.

"A Second Pittsburgh"

This reads like a roster of big American capitalism. But there is another interesting addition, not listed as American, yet an extension of the United States Steel Corporation. This is known as the Canadian Steel Corporation. This company has bought 2,500 acres of land in this section and is building a city that is heralded as "The Second Pittsburgh" and "The Magic Steel City," as it is going up in the same thorough and rapid manner as characterized Gary, Indiana.

The Detroit Free Press says, "The estimated initial expenditure will be forty millions of dollars, while the estimated ultimate expenditure will be **Two Hundred Million Dollars.**"

Ojibway, as "America's New Steel Center" is called, is situated midway between the country's great coal and iron ore mines, with water transportation to all parts of the world. It will sure prove a factor in world competition. Fortunes have already been spent building streets, immense sewer and water mains, steam and electric railroad extensions and connections. Hundreds of men are

employed constructing wire nail mills, machine shops, docks and blast furnaces.

Much is made of the fact that American money is going into Canada for investment at the rate of one hundred and fifty millions annually. As Canada is largely an agricultural country most likely the interest on this immense amount will be paid in food-stuffs or products of the soil. Anyway, this Canadian ramification of American capitalism will do much, undoubtedly, to further strengthen the peace relations that have existed for a century or more between the Dominion and the U. S. A. And, on the other hand, they tend to further make the U. S. A. a British ally in all world imperialistic tangles. Who says "we" are not international?

Great International Bridge

However, there is still another and more important link actually binding the two countries together, now in course of construction: namely, the \$30,000,000 Detroit-Windsor Suspension Bridge. This will create a great commercial highway between Mid-Western United States and Canada, and will take its place among the world's greatest bridges.

The total weight of the bridge and approaches is 107,000 tons, and the span—1803 feet—will be, so it is claimed, the longest in the world.

There will be eight parallel wire cables to carry the highway and railway decks. Two cables will be 18 inches in diameter with a total of 59,280 wires of Number 6 gauge supporting a pulley of 146,000,000 pounds. The highway deck will be 97 feet wide with two trolley tracks, two side walks and two roadways that will carry 6 lanes of traffic or a capacity of 30,000,000 automobiles per year.

The lower deck will have four railway tracks to carry electrically operated trains, and a 20 ft. space for public utilities, such as wires and pipes.

The towers of the bridge will rise to a height of 380 feet above the water and will be made up of plates of nickel steel of a thickness of two inches, having a cross section of 6 inches by 17 feet.

Experts estimate that the bridge will increase the business between Detroit and the Windsor district

from \$150,000,000 to \$300,000,000 annually and increase the population 300,000 practically overnight.

Some things that the experts do not estimate include the following: The interchange of places of employment that the new bridge will make possible. Americans will go into Canada looking for work; and Canadians will come to the U. S. A. more easily than they do now. The result will be a complete recognition of their common interests against their common exploiters. It will soon become evident to both Americans and Canadians that when it comes to fleecing the workers, the big corporations know neither race nor boundary lines. All workers look alike to them; and so will all exploiters look alike to the workers, some day.

The star of the American capitalist empire is going northward as well as southward. Canada as well as Mexico knows its invasion; the first in a reciprocal manner; the second, aggressively. Both methods, however, conduce to a greater intermingling and understanding—a greater internationalism among the workers. So we rejoice in the results of both.

PUBLIC OPINION

NEW DEFENSE PAMPHLET

Where does it stand on the question of amnesty for political prisoners?

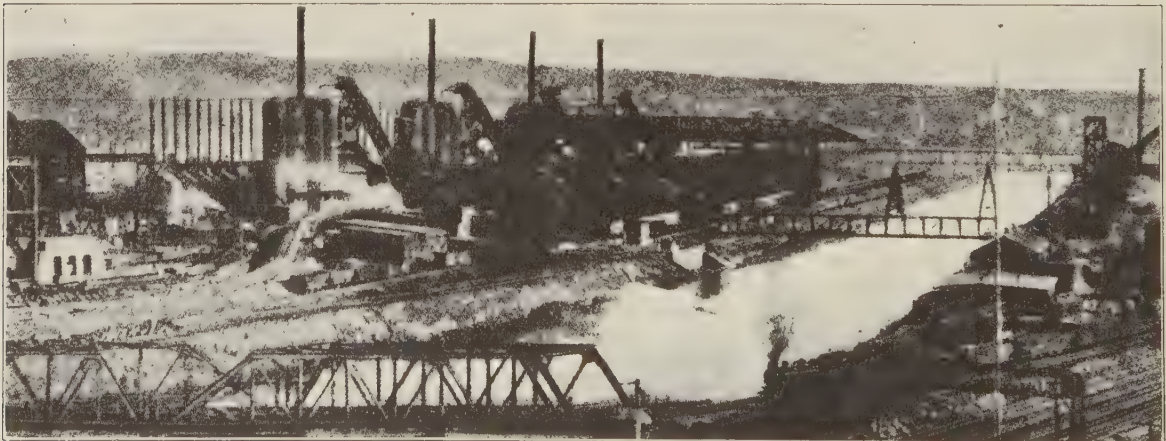
Editorials from hundreds of big newspapers and magazines, all favoring immediate and unconditional release.

Illustrated with cartoons from metropolitan dailies. Special cover design. Beautifully printed. Thirty-two big pages of vital and unanswerable argument.

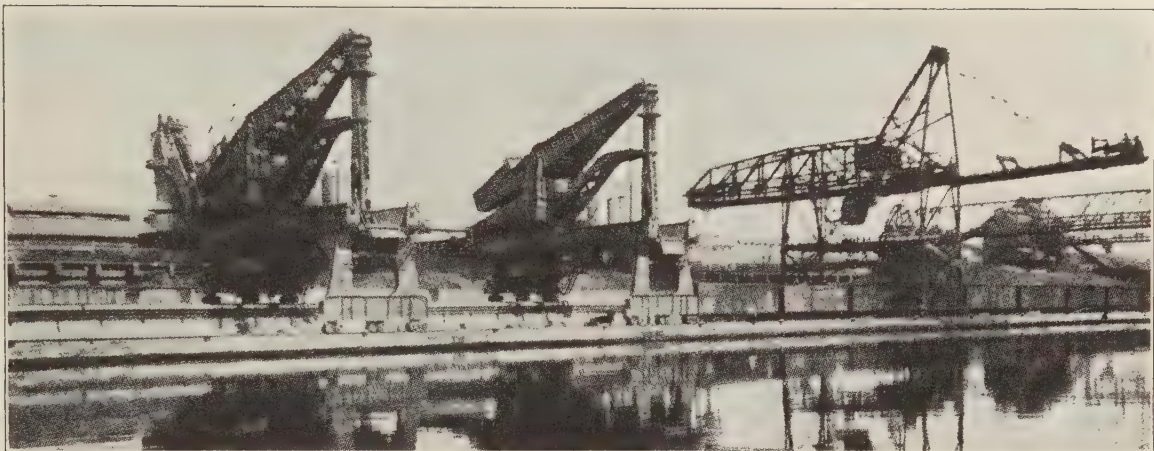
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A Small Bit of Ojibway—Projected Gary of Canada.



A Glimpse of River Rouge, Mich., Ford Plant

Ford Wades in Gold and Grabs Ever New Enterprises

By S. ALMAZOV, In New York Daily Freedom.

[Translated by J. D. C.]

The Ford Motor Company celebrates its 20th Anniversary Jubilee and tells of its wealth. Henry Ford—the richest man in the world. The Ford factories put out one million and a half cars yearly. Ford is not only an auto manufacturer, he also owns many other enterprises, such as iron mines, coal mines, glass and rubber factories and is now preparing to go into the clothing and tailoring business.

HENRY FORD, founder and owner of the Ford Motor Company of Detroit, Mich., has had within the past few days somewhat of a festival—on the occasion of the celebration of the establishment of his auto business.

His First Factory

In 1903, Ford started his first auto factory. At that time he invested in the venture 27,000 dollars. Within 20 years, Ford has become not only the largest auto manufacturer in the world, but also the richest among the rich of the earth.

Ford went into business at a favorable time. He has been successful.

There was a great demand for cheap autos. Ford's auto was the cheapest in the market. In spite of this fact, Ford made enormous profits on his auto sales. The workers in his factories, diligently and submissively contributed their energy and helped Ford create, within a short period of time, a colossal fortune.

It goes without saying that the workers in his factories were unable to save for themselves any more than a bare subsistence, at the time when Ford was literally able to shovel money.

About January, 1922, the net profits of the Ford auto factories amounted to Four Hundred Thirty-Two Millions, Four Hundred Forty-Three Thousand, Eight Hundred Eighty-Three Dollars (\$432,443,883).

But let us rather allow the Ford Motor Company to speak for itself.

Increase of Yearly Output

Because of the Jubilee the company decided to delight our hearts by assuring us that Ford's business is progressing nicely. For that purpose the company made public a report from which we learn that the first Ford auto was completed in June, 1903. From year to year Ford has enlarged his factories and perfected his system of production to such an extent that the number of automobiles produced is ever growing. In 1903 the number of Ford autos produced was 1708, at this writing the Ford Company has an output of 1,500,000 cars yearly.

Each four seconds a new Ford is born,—a truck or a tractor. Each hour 900 new Ford cars, trucks or tractors are put out. In the one day of May 9th the Ford factories put on the market 6,615 cars and the week ending May 15 they finished 39,303 cars.

The Ford auto business has become one of the largest industrial ventures in the world. The Highland Park plant in Detroit stretches out over an area of 300 acres of land, of which 123 acres are under one roof. In River Rouge the Ford Company occupies 1,200 acres of land. Here we find Ford's own smelter (which is the largest in the world), his own machine shops, cement factory, a locomotive repair shop and the Fordson tractor factory.

The little factory, which Ford named in honor of his son "Fordson," is only six years old; the Fordson tractor factory was first established in the year 1917 and produced, within the first year of its existence, 254 tractors. Now the factory has "slightly" grown and the little factory now turns out a sum total of 500 tractors a day, which amounts to more than 150,000 tractors the year.

His 24,000 Agencies

All through the country there are dealers in "Fords" to the number of 9,000; 15,000 authorized Ford service stations. Altogether 24,000 points of contact with auto dealers and owners. The Ford Company has a factory in Canada, where a new city has grown up around the Ford factory and which is called "Ford." In the Canada factory 75,000 Fords the year are produced. In 1922 Ford purchased the Lincoln Motor Company, paying for it the sum of 8,000,000 dollars.

The above are the facts according to the information furnished by the Ford Motor Company on the occasion of its jubilee.

It is understood that the above report dwells little on the way the workers have become machinized and stupified, thanks to the "scientific" distribution of labor, which Ford introduced in his factories in order to multiply the production of his workers. The report talks of the wonderful condition of the Ford automobile factories only.

But that is not all; Ford is not only represented in the auto business. His fortunes have grown to such colossal proportions that he is obliged to seek ever new enterprises. Special experts are now engaged for the purpose of discovering where to invest the large sums of money owned by Ford and his kind. And the more money one has the greater profit returns he is entitled to. It is their belief that money must go to money and ever new business ventures are unearthed.

His Cash Balance

Ford's cash balance, exclusive of investments, now totals 200 million dollars. This is more cash money than any one else in the world owns today.

It is, therefore, worth while to acquaint ourselves with some of the other business that this auto king does, and of course, also earns, some small change withal.

First of all, it is Ford's aim to get under his control all the industries upon which his auto factories are depending. For that purpose he has begun to provide himself with coal and metal mines, with his own railroads and his own water power.

For the state of Michigan alone Ford has prepared a program for water power development that will cost about One Hundred Million dollars.

The state of Nebraska is familiar with the immense plans and accomplishments of Ford in the development of water power; the Nebraska legislature, therefore, extended an invitation to Ford to take over the entire state system of water power.

Ford is the head of a company in Michigan that owns 32,000 acres of forest and metal mines.

Ford also organized a 15,000,000 dollar coal com-

pany, and has lately bought 120,000 acres of land in West Virginia, upon which are found the best oak trees in America. It is estimated that on it abounds about 500,000,000 feet of timber. All told Ford owns about 200,000 acres of land.

Ford has rented for a period of 75 years the "Detroit, Toledo and Ironton" railroad, which extends over an area of 500 miles.

Ford also owns large glass factories; he is now working upon a project to expend \$50,000,000 in developing the rubber industry in Meixco. He has also invested large sums of money in barge-canals and as a by-issue he often takes a leap into banking. In that way he recently made a loan to the administration of the city of Detroit, of a half million dollars and charged interest at only 4 per cent while the Wall Street bankers charged 4½ per cent. The above sum to the city of Detroit may possibly be increased to 8,000,000. He has also built a hospital at the expense of 5,000,000 dollars.

Goes Into Retailing

Lately, he opened up large retail stores for the use of his tens of thousands of employes; the stores also retail to other persons and no profits are lost there either, as Ford is not in business for heaven's sake, but for business and profits. In order to get an idea of the extent of business Ford does in the above-mentioned retail stores it is enough to mention the fact that in one of the stores the monthly sale of meat amounts to 250,000 lbs.

Our Auto King also sells groceries, shoes, and piece goods for clothing. It is now rumored that he is preparing to go into the tailoring business. He will presumably establish large clothing factories for his own employes and for the retail trade generally. We venture the belief that in the new undertakings Ford will hardly be the loser.

As it appears from the above Ford is about provided with a livelihood, the only thing missing is glory (honor), because of that some of his friends are now pushing him for president of the United States. Their wish is that he be as much of a gourmand in glory and honor as he is in money.

His friends approve of the motto that he who has the cash should also have the say.

No matter what the outcome will be as to Ford becoming the president of the U. S. he already is, the king of industry and the largest one to boot.

More New Pamphlets

STARVING Amidst Too Much," is the title of a new I. W. W. pamphlet, published by Food Workers' Industrial Union No. 460. The author is the well-known I. W. W. poet and song writer, T-Bone Slim. Watch for review in October Pioneer.

*

Another new I. W. W. pamphlet is "Craft Unionism, Why It Fails." Analyzes recent big fiascos in A. F. of L. strikes. Contains much valuable historical data and is up-to-date in its facts and figures. Advocates I. W. W.



Labour is the sole parent of all property—the land yieldeth nothing without it, and there is no food, clothing, shelter, vessel, or any necessary of life but what costs Labour and is generally esteemed valuable according to the Labour it costs. Therefore, no person can possess property without labouring, unless he gets it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others.—From The Key of Liberty, written in 1798 by William Manning of Massachusetts.

Treasonable Thoughts

THE WORKER—You say that it is your capital that creates all wealth?

The Capitalist—You've stated my contention correctly.

The Worker—How comes it then that, when I strike, your capital is idle and unproductive; while you call on press, government and courts to drive me back to work in order to revive its creative power and produce profits with it for you?

The Capitalist—Oh—ah—I beg your pardon! You fail to grasp my meaning! I—er—I mean that if I didn't provide you at the beginning, with raw material, machinery, management, cash and credit, your efforts would be futile.

The Worker—Ha, ha, ha!!! That's the best yet. First, you say it is your capital that creates all wealth. Then when I show that without my labor your capital is useless you take a new tack! Now you appear as the great provider. Ha, ha, ha!!! But, in all seriousness, let me ask you, where did you get that raw material? Out of the earth, eh?

And the earth, did you create it? Who dug that raw material? Did you? Who invented and fashioned that machinery? Did you? Who manages your enterprises? Do you? Who evolved your cash and credit systems? You? Is not the earth dug, machinery invented and made, enterprises managed, credit and banking systems evolved, operated and maintained by the physique and brain of generations of wage workers and salaried subordinates? You take the results of labor's co-operative toil and genius and call it all your own. And then when labor strikes—stands from under your fiction—you shout "Help! police!! Help, government!! Help! courts!!!" You may not have a sense of justice and decency! But you surely must have a sense of humor!

The Capitalist—Stop! Stop! Ding blast you! I shall apply for an injunction against such treasonable thoughts. You are an enemy to God, the country and the flag.

Who Constitute the Working Class?

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

THIS is a question oftenest asked by those who should find it easiest to answer: namely, the members of the working class themselves! They are so little given to analysis and reflection as to be unable to recognize and classify themselves without the aid of others. However, their characteristics are most pronounced, and can never be erased, once they are properly impressed upon the human mind.

Naturally, one is inclined to believe that the working class consists of **ALL THOSE WHO WORK**, or who take part in or help to maintain the production and distribution of wealth in some way or other. Under this definition, many professional people, like doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc., and many middle class persons, like delicatessen stores and cobbling shop keepers, not to mention farmers, would constitute the working class. For do they not work? Are they not assisting in the modern production and distribution of wealth?

That may all be apparently true; but, nevertheless, all these professional, middle and farming class persons are not of the working class. Their very classifications in the language of the day implies something distinct and different from the working class. And we may rely on it, these classifications are correct. We also may rely on it that doctors, dentists, lawyers, delicatessen store keepers and cobblers generally would feel insulted and deprived of eclat and prestige if reduced to the working class; for it would appear as social degeneracy to them, as we shall make clear later on, to have such a thing befall them.

A few glances at the working class in general will reveal economic contrasts with the professional, middle and farming classes, that make it a class apart from all these. In the first place, the working class is a capital-less class. It does not own the land, machinery, raw material, funds and credit with which it operates. In the second place, it is an employed class. It works directly for wages for the profit of others: namely, employers and capitalists, i. e. the owners of the machinery, etc., which it uses. In the third place, the working class is an exploited class, giving up in return for wages received all that it produces. In the factory, workshop, mill and mine; on the railroads, steamships, aeroplanes; on the land, and sea, in banks, hotels,—everywhere—will men and women be found producing and distributing wealth by means of capital owned by others, for the profit of the latter,—all for wages received. They constitute the armies of workers, the great working class.

Doctors, dentists, lawyers, delicatessen store keepers, cobblers, farmers, et al., own their own capital and equipment. They are not employed by others. Nor are they exploited for all that they produce in return for wages received. Factories know them not. Nor do any of the other places of exploitation in industry, transportation and finance. Generally,

they are neither employers nor employes. But they aspire to become the former as opposed to the latter, as they know that that is the road to greater enrichment and social advance. Not a few of them are former workers; hence their peculiar aspirations and desires.

It is only when doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc., are employed at salaries and commissions for the profit of insurance companies, railroad companies, company hospitals, hospital and health corporations, and similar institutions, do they become members of the working class. The same holds true of farmers who are farming farms directly for wages for the profit of others. All are then employes, working the capital of others for the profit of the latter in return for wages received.

Whenever one is employed to work the capital of another for the profit of the latter, in return for wages or salary received, he's a worker and belongs to the working class. And there are some thirty millions of them in "little U. S. A." Are you one of them?

Labor Banks Not Enough

Apparently, the labor bank is not all-satisfying. "The Chief's Page," i. e., Warren Stone's page, in the July Locomotive Engineers' Journal, is illustrative of the fact. In the first paragraph the stocks of "The Brotherhood Investment Company" are boomed. But in paragraph 3, headed "Wage Increases," "Warren Stone, Labor Banker," gives way to "Warren Stone, Labor Leader," and as such, is being prodded into securing more wages for locomotive engineers in a way that he, great financier that he is, quite obviously does not relish.

Says "Warren Stone, Labor Leader": "A number of resolutions are coming in from different Divisions criticizing the Grand office, and insisting that a wage movement be put into effect at once . . . Your interests are being looked after, and the Organization will come out of this as well as any of the rest in the final analysis, so do not be carried away by a few soap-box orators, or a few One Big Union men, who are carrying out their instructions to 'bore from within.'"

From which it is safe to conclude that "Warren Stone, Labor Leader" is arrogant and given to insulting his membership. Also that a few dollars annual bank dividends to a few stockholders is no substitute for the tens of dollars that should be in the weekly pay envelopes of all of the 90,000 locomotive engineers enrolled in Stone's Brotherhood.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



Where Wealth Accumulates

By ROBERT GRAYSON

BY securing work in a bowling alley it had become possible for me to complete the common school grades. We were very poor people, dwelling in a rear hovel whose entrance was through an alley which communicated on one side to our "home," and on the opposite to a stable. To this day the strong odors peculiar to livery stables assailing my nostrils bring back that rare retreat as an ugly souvenir of a life that was all but bestial.

When Father Dominick understood my ambition—to finish the grades of his parochial school—he used his kind offices to establish me at the receiving end of the bowling alleys. At this station I gyrated up and down, setting pins and returning the huge balls from eight until twelve each night. For this violence they paid me thirty cents a night. The alleys were in the Parish Hall basement, and were controlled and used by societies connected with the Church.

However, even this sinecure failed to make sure the educational journey, and it was terminated after a very brief glimpse of the freshman life at high school. My entire time must be devoted to gainful occupation. There were several children younger than myself in our family, and my father had displayed the ill grace to go seeking "if God improves on better acquaintance." What ever conclusions he reached as to the Deity, our mundane affairs did not improve with his quest.

Squeezing Through Life

Some of the sensations impressed on us as we squeeze through life are not to be erased. Of such an indelible character are those which were my own on that first February morning that I entered the labor market in earnest. It was six o'clock and still dark, but the streets were filled with workers either homeward bound after the night shift or going to their labors. My small lunch was under my arm against the possibility of finding work at once. And I shivered with a double discomfort, first because the wind did not respect my coat, and then with a deeper chill a little like that of childish fears on being taken to school for the first time. Only now, with work as a definite objective, where I should find it was not so definite. So I timidly approached one factory gate after another with a halting appeal that seemed to become frozen and changeless. For some unfortunate reason thirteen year old boys of small size did not seem in demand that morning. And while no reasons were advanced for

refusing me at the outset the same were supplied when my search continued after all the whistles had blown. I was told to come earlier, or asked if I thought these factories were banks.

A Prison Without Bars

At Noon, when the day was not as cold, I munched my sandwich on the tow-path of a canal. Across this waterway lay a damp meadow, and immediately beyond this the State Prison. I meditated this dull pile silently. There men and women were serving sentences of varying lengths. With pity for those behind its bars and walls I did not know that with them I had much in common, for without knowing it I had been sentenced to hard labor for life in penal institutions having a superior economy, being minus bars. This is the sentence pronounced for the crime of entering the world poor. Moreover it is the judgment heaped upon all workers for the crime of lacking solidarity.

Leaving this gloomy landscape my search was renewed. At about four o'clock, with darkness gathering again, I found the Precious Job! In that factory district, with all its blending of productive smells, I had sniffed out from afar what was to be my first real lesson in that course with which most of us are familiar. The watchmen had been instructed to hire someone. I came at the opportune moment, and was told to come back at seven that same evening to work on the night shift. It was a linoleum factory and the paints used for the prints when being dried gave off an odor which dominated all others nearby.

Having received and punched a card at a time-clock I found my foreman and was given a wheelbarrow. As the long strips of linoleum were run through the machinery which printed them, their edges were trimmed by revolving cutters, and these fragments I was to gather into bundles and wheel to a "mill" through the yards where they were again ground up. For twelve hours a night this was a very hard job, but where the bowling alley paid seven and one-half cents hourly, this labor gained me fifteen cents. So, when morning came I was richer by one dollar and eighty cents!

Sympathy, Nearest Kin To Solidarity

Sometimes—to my great joy—the machinery would jam and I was reprieved mercifully while the machinist repaired the fault. At such times I used to go out to the "mill" and watch the old man there at his work. Soon we were friends, and I gained

much from knowing him. His name was Harrison and he had been born in England. Two of his fingers were gone, and when I observed the loss sympathetically he divined my thoughts and said abruptly:

"Lucky it wasn't my arm!"

He was one of those thin, wiry old fellows who seemed able to thrive on privation, if merely continuing existence is any sort of thrift. When he discovered that I used my ears and eyes more than my tongue he indorsed this reticence by many confidences. I learned that when one of his fingers had been caught under a "cutter" the management had ordered the machinery to be again started, rather than lose the time of lifting the heavy wheels. Thus was the second finger amputated. Indeed, it is by practising such economies that foremen are advanced and rewarded.

Harrison had been in America since he was a small boy. His mother had recently died at a great age, but his father had been dead for many years. Harrison had once been a skilled mechanic in printing linoleum. It was he who told me how the machines came in to do with a crew of six laborers the work previously done by fifty mechanics. This led us around to mechanical progress generally. The old man working alone in the twilight of his life at a task which called for no mental effort employed his mind on many matters, and as a result of his skill having been superseded by a machine this subject was prominent. I had been denied higher academic training, but Harrison was a man who had read much and well. In the infrequent visits I paid him during the dead of night while the machinery was being repaired, my mind was given some good exercise, and a consciousness was born therein which might never have had a being elsewhere.

An Important Span of Existence

One night he was telling me about his mother: "She lived through this kind of a life, that knocks them out usually at forty or so, until she was ninety. My father died at thirty-eight of the 'con.' But, son, what always seems to me as important about my mother's life is the time it was lived in. I guess that a ninety year life a thousand years ago wasn't much different from another ninety year stretch two thousand years past. But with my mother and those others there was a big difference.

"When she was a girl they used candles for lights, when they had the price. She lived to see the electric light. When she was a kid horses and oxen pulled the carriages and carts on bad roads. Before she died she saw airplanes buzzing around the clouds. And news that in her youth traveled at a snail's pace was flashed around the world by wireless in her old age.

"And these factories. When she was born they were just starting. They were weavers at home. She saw that kind of thing broken up, and the family forced to the factories. What the inventions do

to skilled workers I know! Why, son, fifty of us used to do the work by hand that these machines turn out now with half a dozen hunkies and farmers!"

He was out of breath. I had to push my wheelbarrow back to the machine, but he had done something to me that could never be undone. My curiosity was aroused, and I began to try to understand all about the progress of these machines. And thus I learned that the farmers in colonial days were just about as far advanced in agricultural methods as were the ancients. In manufacture, simple, inexpensive tools worked by footpower at home did the spinning and weaving in the 18th Century A. D. in a manner not much different than it was performed a thousand years earlier.

One night I asked Harrison if he thought we were better off now than workers were before the machines were invented.

"Well, son," he said. "With all these machines ripping out products about a hundred times as fast as they used to I suppose the workingman is just a little better off when he has a job. But if you mean has he as much share of the stuff he makes I'll say 'No.' Between the rich and poor of this day and the rich and poor of a hundred years ago there is a big difference. The rich now have a bigger share than the rich did then. If it was twenty-five for the worker before and seventy-five for the boss, it's about five for the worker now and ninety-five for his boss."

"Then we're getting poorer all the time!" I exclaimed.

"Yes, and the others are getting richer," he ended.

It is nearly twenty years since old Harrison started me on the real road of education. The old man has long since quit feeding the "mill" with the trimmings fetched by my barrow. Eternal shadows are around him. He was poor, mangled and twisted by the toils and violence of this ogre, the Machine. But his head was straight.

Fire the Boss!

Seeing that life was all wrong for the workers I remember asking him at last what he thought could be done to make our lives better. And he looked straight into my heart as he replied:

"It's up to the workers to get together and 'fire' the boss."

Twenty years of study and observation have served to convince me that this simple expedient,—so difficult of effecting!—holds the solution of all economic injustice and the hope of a happier and more enlightened human race.

This little story is substantially true, and contains a lesson for us all. It is not by "uplifters" and "saviors" that the workingclass will win to its freedom. Salvation not self-achieved is worthless. Our emancipation is timed by the blows we beat ourselves against the bars of our own prison, this vast economic system. It is the Harrisons who forever smash at this citadel of wage slavery. Each one has



THE ORIGINAL CENTRALIA DEFENDANTS

Top Row—Loren Roberts, James McInerney, Britt Smith, O. E. Bland, Bert Faulkner (released), Ray Becker.

Bottom Row—Mike Sheehan (released), John Lamb, Eugene Barnett, Bert Bland, Elmer Smith (released).

ARMISTICE DAY, 1919, was used by lumber trust interests at Centralia, Wash., to turn a peaceful parade celebrating the end of the world war into a mob raid on the I. W. W. hall there. The raid was successfully repulsed by the I. W. W. Some of the mob were killed.

Instead of holding F. B. Hubbard, lumber magnate, fomentor of the raid, and his criminal associates responsible, 11 I. W. W.'s were arrested for murder. Three were released. Eight are now buried alive in prison, the victims of rank injustice.

Even the jurors have revolted against the crime

FORCED on THEM. Six of them confess that, such was the atmosphere of terror surrounding the trial, that they dared not acquit the I. W. W.'s What a confession! What a shame!!

A state-wide agitation is now being conducted in Washington against this conspiracy to imprison workmen for manfully defending themselves and their rights. A movement is now afoot to secure a reversal and re-trial. Archie Sinclair and Elmer Smith, the fighting lawyer, are addressing large mass meetings demanding release. The good work will continue until this end is achieved.

a duty to perform. A word here, and a deed there, and a leaflet somewhere else—these are the deadly weapons endlessly at work to eternally damn human slavery.

An Unsung Educator

Under somewhat better financial circumstances I suppose I should have gone to college, there, to secure knowledge and contempt. Who knows? I might have become a figure in the business world! In such an event I should have lived always with the moneybags bucking big and human life small. How many first-class possibilities of how many

potential skimmers are side-tracked by such as a wheelbarrow and linoleum trimmings! And how many mediocre minds twisted by our patriotic school training receive the light from unknown, unsung and at last unwept educators such as the Harrisons!

He had a light and he did not hide it under a bushel. In the dark night I went in covered with sweat and filth pushing the great weight. And when at last I came out again there was a light in my brain, and a flame in my heart. The miracle was done. Never more would I bow before industrial piracy contentedly, for I was a rebel.

The Ballad of the Fifty-Five

[Dedicated to the San Quentin Strikers]

By HENRY GEO. WEISS.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
Rotting in solitary,
Some in the dungeon dank and black,
Oh, but the night is dreary!
Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
Rotting in solitary.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
God! but the days are long!
Fifty-five men in solitary
Trying to mouth a song,
Fifty-five men on bread and water—
Christ! but the hours are long!

Fifty-five men—and what have they done
That they should be treated so?
Did they murder and rape or rob the poor
In the land where the oranges grow?
Say! what is the crime of the fifty-five
That they should be treated so?

Oh, some of them said that they ought to be free
Of hunger and dirt and filth,
And some of them pointed out the fact
That the workers produced the wealth,
And some of them POINTED OUT THE MEN
WHO ROBBED THEM OF THAT WEALTH

For since the days of Jesus, the Christ,
And this all men do know,
To scourge the moneychangers forth,
And strike at Profit a blow,
Is to invite the doom of him
Who did it long ago.

And some of them preached that war was hell
And exposed the profiteer,
The pious fraud who mouthed "MY flag"
And sat in a swivel chair,
And tried to hide the million he made
Behind ONE DOLLAR a year.

And some of them helped to organize
The men in the O. B. U.,
And some of them spoke from the old soap-box
That Labor must have its due,
And some of them said, IF ANY ARE FED,
BY GOD! IT OUGHT TO BE YOU!

YOU mine the COAL, YOU drive the TRAINS,
YOU man the SHIPS AT SEA,
YOU cut the LUMBER, reap the GRAINS,
YOU LABOR MIGHTILY—
YET YOU, THE WORKER, TOILER, DWELL
In DIREST POVERTY.

And all of them preached of a better day
When want should be unknown,
When gold and greed should lose their sway
And hate be overthrown—
AND ALL OF THEM PINE TODAY BEHIND
GRIM WALLS OF STEEL AND STONE.

Fifty-five men on hunger diet,
And this their only crime:
They tried to lift the workingman
Out of the muck and slime,
Fifty-five men on bread and water—
Men's saviours!—DOING TIME!

Hell: Sensational Verse Drama

A Review by RALPH CHAPLIN

HELL is the name of this sensational verse drama by Upton Sinclair. The reason it is called "Hell" is because it is a picture of the awful mess that capitalism has made of the affairs of this world.

The scene opens up in the throne-room of hell. The court jester comes in with the astounding news that he has succeeded in stealing the key to heaven after having locked the pearly gate upon all the angels. The imps and devils rejoice with his Satanic Majesty. Plans are made to organize the universe upon a business basis. Mammon and his efficiency experts are placed in charge. The fun begins.

The people of earth are divided into two groups—the Verticals and Horizontals. War is precipitated. An attorney general with a Quaker countenance and a spiked tail gets on the job. A lot of I. W. W.'s and other rebels are thrown into hell. They start kicking, as usual. As a result of their agitation Satan finds himself without a throne and the Wobblies have job control. An attempt is made

to extend the strike. Condemned souls are organized, the campaign waxes furious. The rule of Mammon on earth and Satan in hell seems doomed to permanent extinction. Victory is at hand. The gates of heaven are opened and Fellow Worker Jesus makes a last plea for brotherhood. Then all the scissor-bill actors in the play go on strike and . . . but read the rest of it yourself!

"Hell" is as beautifully written as Romain Rolland's "Liluli," but it is more popular in tone and more modern in spirit. It is full of breathless incidents, subtle contrasts and touches of real poetry. "Hell" sparkles with wit and bubbles with Rabelaisian laughter, and yet its general tone is as sober as a sermon. "Hell" is imagination run riot—a phantasmagoria of unearthly imps, angels and persons. It is distorted, weird, exaggerated, impossible; and yet it portrays the spirit of the jumbled age in which we live more accurately than a photograph.

("Hell," published by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif. Price, 25c.)

Magnus Johnson

MAGNUS JOHNSON, newly elected U. S. Senator from Minnesota, has already filled a useful purpose in raising the cry of revolution in one of the worst periods of reaction the country has ever experienced. It is indeed refreshing to see at least one conspicuous personage in the U. S. get up and threaten this event, so terrible to the ruling classes of all ages, "if conditions confronting the laboring man and the farmer are not changed;" when too many others are so supine that it seems as if manhood had departed this life for ever and aye.

Magnus Johnson's words have accordingly received extended editorial notice, while he himself has become the object of many journalistic write-ups. It is freely predicted by some of "our" greatest newspapers that another wave of radicalism will sweep the country as it did in the days of Bryan and free silver,—a wave of radicalism that will have to be combatted by the same means as was its alarming predecessor. All of which is good news to thinking men, who will rejoice over the prospect of the country being shaken out of its dangerous conservatism to face modern world-economic problems once more.

But, otherwise, it is hard to believe that there is anything really serious to be feared in the situation personified by Magnus Johnson. It is true that the farmers in the wheat growing states of the Northwest are suffering bankruptcy and ruin. Prices do not cover the cost of production; nor do they provide for taxes and interest. But the farmers, despite their varied ancestry and pioneer qualities, are not of a revolutionary breed. Their environment has not caused them to be revolutionarily inclined. Nor is there any likelihood that, in conditions as they are, they will ever be revolutionary.

It must be apparent to all, that it is characteristic of the farmers to abjectly worship the system that destroys them as a class. They have sacrificed themselves to the Molochs of private property, personal gain and individual shrewdness, so-called, and will, apparently, continue to do so to

the end of their days. This is evident in all of the farmers' measures, such as price guarantees, excess profits and other corporation taxation, governmental regulation, ownership and credit, etc.

There isn't a suggestion of revolution in all this. On the contrary, these measures aim merely to extend the capitalist principles of state aid to include the farming class. They are an attempt to make the farmer more thoroughly capitalistic. It is only ultra-capitalist imperialism—the policy of exporting capital in return for products imported—that causes ultra-capitalist opposition to such an extension of state aid; and that makes political resentment on the part of the farmers possible. Otherwise, the farmer as a revolutionist is nothing more nor less than a figment of the successful politician's brain;—a scarecrow wherewith to compel concessions and recognition.

This becomes all the more apparent when we recall the fact that 1,700,000 farmers were recently forced off the farms without any manifestation of revolt whatever. Further, the farmers have been warned that within the next two years, 1,500,000 more of them will also be compelled to travel the same route. This means that the hold-overs from the deflation of 1920, i. e., the farmers of small capital who now find themselves completely exhausted, will augment the ranks of the evicted. Still, there is no farmer revolution; no violent upheaval; nor a radical psychological or economic break with capitalism. Only a non-essential political revolt; a relapse into populism and grangerism, with Johnson as its most pronounced personification.

Surely, there must be a reason for this extraordinary phenomenon of a class destroyed practically without resistance. The reason is not far to seek. As already indicated it is to be found in the essentially capitalist character of the farmers' mind. It is also to be found in another and more vital reason: viz., the transformation of the nation from an agricultural into a manufacturing entity. This has enabled industry

to absorb the one-time farmer and to keep alive his devotion to capitalism. The millions driven from the farms have found refuge from hunger and starvation in auto-plants, chemical works, steel mills, movie studios, etc., where they have preserved their essentially capitalist minds and proven themselves staunch upholders of the capitalist system, indeed. Had there been no expanding industry to receive them, had there been a prostrated industrialism, a wide-spread panic, the story would have been different. But as it is, recent contemporaneous events make very glaring, the significant fact that agriculture is no longer the basic factor in American culture, on whose prosperity the latter rises or falls.

It has simply become another source of labor supply for capitalism to be reckoned with, as such, by the working class.

Under these varied psychological and economic conditions who believes in a farmers' revolution? Revolutions are made by an increasingly important class in the functions of society. This is true of the working, but not of the farming, class in the U. S. today. Accordingly we can only hope for a revolution when, under the unjust exploitation and oppression of capitalism, the one-time farmer is thoroughly rendered class-conscious as a waged worker. As now constituted, a farmers' revolution will prove a reactionary futility; that is, provided such a revolution is even thinkable.

The Big Bout

Date and Time—Thursday, July 12th, 1923, at 7 P. M.

Place—Front of "The Times," Eureka, California.

WHILE walking along opposite side of street my attention is called to the large crowd of men congregated in front of the "Humboldt Times" offices.

What is holding them? Ah, I see—it's a bulletin of the fight—Firpo vs. Willard,—that attracts the crowd.

And on closer examination I find workingmen in overalls predominating. On my side of the street are several women, some holding on to baby-buggies too, who no doubt are awaiting (not the fight decision) but for their husbands. On mingling with the crowd an acquaintance of mine asks me, "What do you think of it, who's going to win?"

And Oh, Workers—Hosts of Us—Industrial Workers of the World—dues-paying members or soon to be, I could not refrain (under a rising inspiration) from delivering the following answer:

"Fight? What fight? Friend, you've got me wrong, I am very little interested as to the outcome of this little fight.

"I am interested in the Big Fight. What one is that? Why, the biggest Pug on earth versus the only Giant on earth. Fellow Workers—the Pug I am interested in seeing licked—by the way his name is Plute.—delivers a wallop that knocks out millions of us at one blow! And he hits below the belt, too, don't you see? He cares not for any rules.

"Oh, Men! Get wised up—why, in order to win the decision he hits women and babes too!

"It's all right men, we like and want diversion in the shape of clean, honest sports—can't we do without them, sure. But say, if we workers altogether will interest ourselves only half as much in the outcome of the Real Big Fight, it wouldn't last one round.

"And we wouldn't need the seconds, sponge men—towel manipulators—viz., (Salvationists—Sky Pilots), we'd win hands down!

"Oh, You Men with Wives and Babes waiting for you, Men and Women, there's a message written for You!

"Think of your economic condition! How to better it!

"There's the fight—the Real Big Fight—right before Us every hour, awake or sleeping, and from cradle to grave! Interested in this Real Big Fight? Bet on it?

"Why yes! There are thousands upon thousands of men and women good and true who are betting on this Real Big Fight!

"Money?

"No! No! No!

Betting their freedom, their very lives!!

"Oh say! Men, can you not see, what so broadly is writ in the skies?

"Let's get interested in THE BIG FIGHT!"

A Painter (Card 27,824)

The Parlor Provocateur

Book Review By J. D. C.

THE other night," says a Los Angeles newspaper, "5,000 strikers and their wives and children down at San Pedro harbor, cheered"—a woman, a millionairess, one who is described as having a "beautiful home behind a fringe of tall, restful evergreen trees. There are servants in that home. There is ease and comfort and even luxury there."

Who is this woman? What has she done that she should win the applause of strikers led by the I. W. W.,—for that was an I. W. W., M. T. W. strike—an organization of the exploited and enslaved of the present social order—and she a member of the oppressor class?

The answer is given in a little book, just sent out for review; a book that is neither fiction, romance, nor history, but which combines them all and is epoch making in that it portrays the truth and idealism of present day, pulsating, real life—the life and struggles of the great advancing working-class, the vanguard of the Industrial Republic.

This little book is entitled, "The Parlor Provocateur, or From Salon to Soap Box." With the subtitle, "The Letters of Kate Crane Gartz." Mrs. Gartz is the woman cheered by the I. W. W.

It is difficult to review the book without reviewing the subject it discusses. As a matter of fact there is no book. It is just a compilation of a number of brief, pointed and quite well composed letters of protest to the rulers and dignitaries of our day on behalf of the disinherited and discontented of our day—and in which the compiler, Mary Craig Sinclair, very modestly and properly, keeps herself in the background.

Instead, therefore, of reviewing the book we shall proceed to cull a number of excerpts from "The Parlor Provocateur" for the benefit of Pioneer readers, allowing them an opportunity to judge for themselves as to whether or not the writer of these excerpts, Kate Crane Gartz, is the one and only 100 per cent American of the American capitalist class: a woman who is championing the cause of labor and permits her house to be the haven of working class apostles.

Pleads for Magon

The first letter in the book is herewith reproduced in full. It is addressed to Margaret Wilson, the daughter of the ex-president of now unenvied memory. It reads as follows:

"Because I am the sister of Charles R. Crane who is a close friend of yours and your father's and having met you in Chicago, I am venturing to enlist your sympathy and love of justice in behalf of this high-minded man—Ricardo Magon—whom the Department of Justice has seen fit to put behind iron bars as a 'common criminal.'

"I am enclosing one of his letters to his adored wife, whom I saw yesterday, living in squalor, but on



KATE CRANE GARTZ

a plane as far above her surroundings as either you or I could hold ourselves. She too has spent eight months in our filthy Los Angeles jail, ruining her health by the degrading work she was given to do—and all because she dreamed of a kinder, juster world, where all human beings may dwell in peace and happiness.

"And while I am appealing to you to intercede with your father in behalf of this man, the George Washington of his country, Mexico, I wish to raise my voice in behalf of all our conscientious objectors. Such men have been released automatically in all other countries, even the most benighted, since the signing of the armistice. How can we think to stifle all the voices crying out for freedom and justice, by putting them in dungeons, and otherwise mistreating them?

"America, once the beacon star of all the world's oppressed, is now lagging far behind in leadership. What has become of the lofty words that spurred us on toward a realization of our ideals? Every man who utters them now is clapped into jail—even Debs, the most Christlike man in our country, for uttering the very words your father uttered. Our government, by its blindness, is driving the people toward a violent revolution. Please try to awaken

your father before it is too late and we are face to face with inevitable chaos. And please, in my case, let me send you some of the facts about this man, Magon, who is going blind in jail, and will never see his loved ones again.

Yours for more humanity in our public officials."

An Outraged Soul

This next one is a gem of pathos and a monument of social justice. It is addressed to Mr. Thomas Lee Woolwine, District Attorney of Los Angeles, in behalf of Raoul Palma, Mexican, and reads in part:

"We are acquainted with this boy and the work in which he has been engaged, and the reputation which he has established in the movement for social justice. These things mean something to us, and are the basis for our belief that the boy is unjustly accused.

"We have attended his trial, and listened to all the evidence which the state has been able to produce against him, and we are more than ever convinced that the accusation is baseless. We implore you to think of the endless burden of injustice which is heaped upon the weak and helpless by the strong and powerful; and the protests which they inevitably engender; the bitterness aroused in the hearts of social protestors by cases of police persecution such as this.

"I tell you my soul has been outraged by the daily evidence of prejudice and injustice which I have seen in the conduct of this case. The persecution of a fine type, so high above the average that those charged with enforcing the law cannot understand him, or the idealism which he is preaching.

"We should go to courts of justice as to a church, knowing that we shall be defended rather than persecuted. The whole system is bad enough, even when dealing with the guilty; when dealing with the innocent it is intolerable. Does it not occur to you that there should be a defender as relentless in protecting the poor and despised, as the public prosecutor is in seeking for legal points against him?

"I am so wrought up by this case of Palma that I cannot sleep nights, and am even now writing in the wee small hours of the morning with aching heart and streaming eyes. I am not sure that I would feel so about it if it were an ordinary man unjustly accused. But Palma has a message we must hear, a message such as Tolstoi taught, which is nothing more or less than the Brotherhood of Man."

"Parlor Bolshevik"

This bit is from a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times: "I may be 'a parlor Bolshevik' simply because I am not capable of being the real thing. But I know that I am ashamed of myself for it. Until all have bread and plenty of it, I resent eating cake, and shall fight with the fighters until no man must ask another man for a job and until religion and education stop justifying war, and until profiteers are ashamed to face their victims."

Very satirical is this excerpt to Professor Ira Cross: "I admire you so much and feel so humble in

your presence, you being a college professor, and I only a sympathizer with the dispossessed, not a real student of economics as you are. But I note that you wish merely to reconcile Capital and Labor, admitting the necessity of two classes of human beings, workers and drones forever. To perpetuate such a system is your idea of a just and happy society! For employers to be kind is to you the only solution for a distraught world. The employer can still go on piling up millions of profit, made from the broken lives of men, women and children toilers. Why should not the workers reap the benefit of their own toil, and not just make parasites of the rest of us? How can it be right for them to create all the good things of life, but never enjoy these things for themselves?

"No, the system is wrong, it must be changed. We must get rid of poverty, and you a learned professor, ought to find out the way and tell the rest of us."

The I. W. W. Trials

Read this one, to the editor of the Pasadena Press: "An American woman, the mother of two American soldiers, wishes to submit to you a few reflections upon the I. W. W. trials now going on, and which she attended continuously.

"I noticed that at the beginning of the first trial men were admitted to the jury box who confessed to intense prejudice against the organization of which the persecuted man was accused of being a member. The judge would cajole the prospective jurors into a reluctant statement that they might possibly be able to change their point of view, and then he would force their acceptance as jurors.

"In the midst of the trial I saw a man arrested, charged with perjury, his crime having been that he dared to appear and testify in favor of the defendant. At the conclusion of the trial I heard the prosecuting attorney justify and practically incite to tarring and feathering of the defendant's attorney.

"If these things do not result in the conviction being reversed by a higher court, what shall we think of justice in Southern California? I wish to ask also—why did the morning newspapers both give the prosecutor's speech and ignore completely the truly noble words of Ryckman and Pandit?

"Bear in mind that this man Steelink has committed no overt act; he is simply charged with being secretary of an organization of persecuted men. The judge instructed the jury to find him not guilty unless it was proven beyond a reasonable doubt that an overt act had been committed. But the jury disregarded this instruction, and gave preference to the bitter and furious prejudice of District Attorney Woolwine. Never in my life have I listened to a more unfair, a more inhuman and cruel speech than this; the speech of a man who had absolutely no sense of the social wrongs of our time.

"District Attorney Woolwine says I. W. W.'s are thinking only of their selfish ambition. What he means is that they want some of the fruits of their labor. Is this such a base ambition—considering

the ambition of some people to take all that labor produces, leaving the laborer a bare existence?

"I tell you, Mr. Editor, that the questions brought up by this I. W. W. trial are deeper than Mr. Woolwine's vision ever carried; they are not to be settled by putting men into jail. It is an old and wise saying that there is no agitator but injustice; and it is this agitator we must seek to drive from our midst. What a just government has to do is to answer the complaints of the oppressed, and to bring them justice. A government which fails to do this cannot survive—not by all the cruel force it can summon. If revolution comes in America, it will be because of such exhibitions of criminal tyranny as were given in the courtroom by District Attorney Woolwine."

In the Court Room

Part of a letter to Judge Frank Willis of Los Angeles after attending a trial in his court: "I entered the sanctuary, and gazed upward to the stained glass dome, upon which were inscribed four words: Peace, Justice, Truth, Law—and I felt hopeful. Before me were men who had violated no constitutional right, who had not the slightest criminal tendency, who were opposed to violence of every kind, knowing that it retards their cause.

"The trial proceeded. I looked again at the beautiful stained glass dome, and whispered to myself those majestic-sounding words: 'Peace, Justice, Truth, Law.' I listened to the prosecutors; the law in their hands was a hard, sharp, cruel, blade, seeking insistently, relentlessly for a weak spot in the armor of its victims. I listened to their Truth, and it was Falsehood; their Peace was a cruel, and bloody war; their Justice was a net to catch the victims at any cost—at the cost of all things but the glory of the Prosecutor's office."

Another letter to Mr. Woolwine: "Why should your office be associated with such a low-down character as Dymond—a man who has turned traitor to his class for money? How can you trust him, and what right have you to take \$350 a month of the people's money and hand it over to such as he, and send him back and forth over the state to testify against workingmen, whose only crime is that they are members of the Industrial Workers of the World? You allow Dymond to arrest a witness, simply because he was defending his cause. The business of your office seems to be not to prosecute but to persecute. Why not inject a little humanism and a little mercy? I know that many of the men your office sent up are idealists not criminals."

Letter to Harding

The following are a few lines from an appeal to President Harding for the release of men "in jail because of conscientious scruples": "Three years have passed since the armistice was signed, and other countries released their prisoners. Why do you not live to your high words, spoken on the first day of the disarmament conference: 'How can Humanity justify or God forgive a war.'"

Part of a letter to Woodworth Clum of the Better America Federation: "I did not bail out the Industrial Workers of the World in January, as you say; not because I would not but because I was not asked to. There are a few others besides myself willing to come to the aid of men who are being railroaded to the penitentiary, simply because they belong to an organization, never having committed an overt act."

From another letter to President Harding: "For the second time, I ask you to live up to your high-flung phrases, 'Expend your power in righteousness.' You believe in God; I do not, but I do try to believe in man, and find it is most difficult many times. You let those children who are now picketing your front door plead in vain for 'righteousness' for their fathers, who have been languishing in jail for five years for absolutely nothing! Not only should they be released now, but an attempt at an atonement should be made to them for the five years stolen from their lives—if such were possible."

Arraigns Scabs

In another letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Times, Mrs. Gartz says: "You speak of the courage and the loyalty of the scab—your sympathy for some inexplicable reason is always with him, and against the man who is making the fight for better living conditions for all workers." And further: "The principle you stand so valiantly for in your editorial today—that a man must be free to work when and where he pleases—sounds very well to the unthinking person, but you know that such a man is keeping Negroes down below the American standard of living. The five thousand strikers in Los Angeles today are starving for principle. Are you? Are the scabs?"

To the Rev. John M. Dean, Pasadena, Calif., she writes in part: "Let the 'Wrath of God' come down upon your head if you suggest more war."

The above is the ample reason why the San Pedro I. W. W. strikers cheered the wealthy woman, Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz.

"The Parlor Provocateur" contains scores of other letters that are very valuable from other angles, letters from friends and relatives some of them denouncing her and others praising her efforts. Several from her son, whom she has succeeded in winning over to her way of thinking; and from her sisters who are also somewhat interested in labor struggles.

Reluctant as the reviewer is to give credit to a member of the enemy class, one who is a legatee to perhaps millions of dollars of unearned increment,—we cannot but concede that here at least is one woman who has suffered ostracism by the capitalist class; one who is sincere, is truly not a fadist or notoriety seeker, but a humanitarian, who is sacrificing position and risking persecution on behalf of freedom, truth, justice and the labor movement.

(Published by Mary Craig Sinclair, Pasadena, California.)

Push Industrial Pioneer!

Whither Russia?

By NEIL GORDON

SOME facts have recently come out of Russia, by way of communist sources, that are worthy of working class consideration. They raise the question, whither is Russia tending? And what of the international working class?

Take a glance at the following item. It is from "The Labor Digest," a weekly organ of the proletarian party, connected with the communist international:—

"Trotzky Sees American Capital Buying up Europe"

"Moscow.—In the newspaper 'Pravda,' Leon Trotzky, war minister of Soviet Russia, says, 'America emerged from the war, not weakened, but strengthened. The internal power of the American bourgeoisie is still very great. The revolution in America therefore, is in the distant future.'

"He sees the economic ruin of the European nations and the purchasing of European industries by American capital at its own price, as in the case of Austria.

"He argues that the only force that will be effective against America, the last stronghold of capitalism, is a 'United Proletarian States of Europe.'"

(Bold face ours.)

From another Communist International weekly, The Glasgow Worker, of July 7, we also take the following, in their entirety, from under "Russian Notes":

"Russia and France"

"Referring to the official appointment of Mr. Kawakami, former Japanese Minister in Warsaw, as plenipotentiary for the Russo-Japanese negotiations, 'Izvestia,' remarks that it is satisfactory that the choice has fallen on a Japanese delegate, who on many occasions has made statements in the press in favour of a Russo-Japanese rapprochement. Incidentally he has published a book about Soviet Russia, based on his recent journey, and filled with a sincere friendly spirit towards Russia."

"Russia and France"

"In conversation with representatives of the press M. Duverget, Chairman of the French Commercial Mission, stated that he is returning to Paris with a number of draft agreements for the export of Russian grain and timber. He hopes that the business circles he represents will succeed in inducing the French Government to recommence first economic and later political relations with Russia. He is confident of being able to persuade the Government to recognize Russia de facto, and send a permanent official representative to Moscow. He thinks the negotiations for oil concessions are of immense importance for France, and will further the achievement of the above ends, to which wide circles are working in France. Discussing his impressions of Russia, Duverget said that a country capable of restoring its economic structure so rapidly after the crisis it has undergone shows that it has a vast reserve of ener-

gy and a great economic future. A member of the delegation is leaving for Baku to inspect the oil wells. Duverget has written a letter to the Director of the State Bank expressing his admiration at Soviet Russia's financial organization."

What do these facts portend? Let's see.

The International Press Correspondence, organ of the Communist International, issues of June 28 and July 5th successively, contains the speeches of Trotzky and Radek on the Ruhr situation and the English ultimatum to Soviet Russia. Both these speeches are significant. That of Radek is especially noteworthy.

Fear America and England

From both of them it is apparent that Russia no longer stands in fear of France, Japan and Poland; as much as of America and England. Especially does Radek's attempt to analyze the formations of the various national groups in the struggles of international capitalism reveal this. This is more particularly seen in his analysis of the situation in the Far East. Says Radek:—

"The Washington Treaty was intended to be the basis for the relations of power there. Russia was not recognized as a Great Power and was not invited because it was not interested in the Far East. Since then we have marched into Vladivostok. Meanwhile, the Washington Treaty was concluded. It fixed a certain number of dreadnoughts for each of the participating powers, England, America and Japan. Japan understood that this was meant to crush her and although she submitted she changed her strategic plan and counted upon the construction of fast cruisers and submarines. This provoked counter measures on the part of America and England. America responded by an extensive scheme for the construction of fast cruisers and submarines, while England, who saw her base in Hongkong menaced, built a great harbour in Singapore. **This situation renders Japan to a great extent dependent upon Soviet Russia. She absolutely requires peace and good relations with Soviet Russia in order to leave her hands free against America.**" (Bold face ours.)

Some Recollections

Recall the words of Trotzky on the necessity for a "United Proletarian States of Europe" to war on America. Now recall also Radek's statement of Japan's dependence on Russia and the good opinion of the Japanese negotiator with Russia expressed in The Glasgow Worker Russian note. Recall further the words of the Chairman of the French Commercial Mission, also from the same paper. Having digested that, turn to Trotzky's speech in The International Press Correspondence. Therein he says of conditions in France: "The next elections, in about 11 or 12 months, will probably bring victory to the left bloc, and this will lead to some form of understanding with Soviet Russia."

Injunction Cloaks Failure

FORMERLY, not so very long ago, the injunction was regarded as a powerful weapon, as a legal document intended to force Labor's submission to certain policies, ostensibly for "the public good"; but really for the good, i. e., the profits, of employers at war with their employees. As such the injunction generally exerted an awe-inspiring influence over the workers, that contributed greatly to the successful accomplishment of the purposes of its issuance.

But the injunction is now coming to lose its caste as a powerful weapon. It is coming to be regarded as a cloak wherewith to cover defeat and to be laughed at accordingly. This was the case in the Kansas state injunction restraining the I. W. W. from committing crimes that it had no intention of committing—after trying in vain to drive it out of the state by means of unsuccessful criminal syndicalism persecutions. Of course, the Kansas state injunction against the I. W. W. is a joke. It does not stop any legitimate I. W. W. activity,



King Canute Webb Is Impotent
(From Industrial Worker)

such as has always been pursued in Kansas. It simply hides official discomfiture, that's all, to the amusement of those in possession of a knowledge of the real state of affairs.

Now comes the injunction of the state of California. Identical in every detail with that of Kansas, it serves the same purpose and achieves the same results. It marks the anti-climax of bitter working class persecution and is laughed at accordingly. California is going the way Kansas went.

This, and the trade agreements already described, which precede the elections.

Radek evidently has no fear of England, when Russia is leagued with France. Says he: "Speaking militarily, England has ceased to be an island. It consists of nothing but Achilles' heels owing to the overwhelming superiority of French aerial forces."

All of the foregoing should make plain the trend of Russian development. It is nationalistic and, in common with other nationals, imperialistic. Russia must develop her own economy—her own capitalism and imperialism—with such outside aid as she through force of circumstances, can command. In so doing she must sacrifice that complete working class internationalism for which she, through her spokesmen, is alleged to stand; for there can be no such internationalism where such a development is under way, as her case proves.

Developing Nationalism

Radek declares in the speech already quoted: "In Russia, where the working class is in power, **national consciousness is a part of the dictatorship.**" (Bold face ours.) And it was Lenin, who, preceding a certain historic occasion, declared, "We go to Genoa, not as communists, but as merchants." They evidently went to Lausanne also with the same policy and found the French and Japanese more advisable and better customers than the English; for it is at

Lausanne that Curzon and Tchitcherin parted company and the subsequent national groupings arose. As for America, her fortunes are bound up with those of England.

The question now arises, shall working class internationalism continue to be the tail of Russian or other state politics? Or shall they be divorced? Apparently, the day when the Third International will split, as did the second, on the basis of national groupings, arrayed in economic and physical warfare, is already in sight.

What the world's workers need is an economic international that is not the appendage of the world-politics of any state, whether in process of modern development, or otherwise. That's the key to the workers' control of the international situation and not adherence to any international run by politicians in alliance with national groups intent on war.

In this connection, the following Federated Press dispatch, from London, England, is worthy of deep reflection:—

"The Transport and General Workers' Union Conference passed a resolution against international war, and pointed out in the resolution that a world-wide transport workers' union could prevent such war. One of the delegates stated, 'It is better, I think, that you give all your money for peace than give your lives in war.'"

The General Strike

By JOHN GRIFFITHS

THE general strike is a theme of great interest to the working class. As a means of liberation it looms large among the workers. It implies a Solidarity such as will eventually make the lock-out of the capitalist class possible.

It used to be the fashion to refer to the general strike as "general nonsense." That was before it was used with such good effect in saving the German republic from the Kapp "putsch." Now it is referred to with more respect, as its history requires. Now, the general strike is generally useful.

The general strike in this country is seemingly impossible. With the working class divided into 110 A. F. of L. international unions, each with trade and local autonomy, no basis for the solidarity that is its first essential seems near. They are a barrier, against which working class unity apparently dashes in vain.

However, all this notwithstanding, strikes tend in this country to take on such immense scope as to become practically general in character. This is due to the general nature of industry and the general conditions that arise from it as a whole. It is only where these circumstances abound that the tendency towards general strikes increases.

General strikes result from general industry and general conditions. They are impossible in isolated industry and isolated conditions.

It is in this sense and for these reasons that the great steel strike of 1919 and the great coal miners', shopmen's and textile workers' strikes of 1922 take on the nature of general strikes and may be justly characterized, as such. Here were armies of workmen—200,000 steel workers, 600,000 coal miners, 400,000 shopmen, and 100,000 textile workers—fighting over a wide expanse of territory against general conditions for general improvements. They were all fighting essentially general industrial strikes, i. e., a general strike of a single industry—one including all the trades and establishments in their respective industries, wherever located.

Especially were the great strikes of 1922 more general in character than any other preceding strikes. They all practically occurred together, at one time; and so included simultaneously, more industries, territory, workers and institutions than had ever been affected before in this country. Their effects were more nearly revolutionary and more portentous—nay, prophetic of future strikes—than any other series of strikes in American industrial history.

They, further, resulted from the open shop drive that threatened the organized workers, not in isolated trades or districts, but in general. They aimed more specifically to prevent the destruction of unionism by the organized capitalist class, in order to prevent the general "deflation of labor," i. e., wage cuts, increase of hours, abolition of overtime rates,

etc. They were, in brief, general reflexes of general underlying, basic conditions, without which general strikes cannot exist.

General strikes, be it stated again, are not made; they are born of general conditions, of which general industry is the biggest of them all. And so general strikes are likely to occur despite the A. F. of L. which, because it is organized according to craft, is no match for general industry or the conditions born of it.

* * *

Some time the American labor historian will give general strikes in this country his special attention. He will devote a monograph to them. Early American strikes seem to have been general strikes. That is, they often were "walk-outs" of all the trades involved in a given industry. This may have been due to the lack of marked technical development at that time, in which, accordingly, craft divisions were not as distinct as they became later on.

The first general strike of any great magnitude that struck this country, seems to have occurred in 1877. Then all the railroad systems were tied up by spontaneous revolt against repeated wage reductions and managerial arrogance. Beginning at Baltimore, Md., it spread northward and westward; with Pittsburgh, Pa., as its storm center. It came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. State militias went over to it en masse. Other industries joined it; some through sympathy, others because of the stoppage which it entailed. Its general effect was one of consternation and paralysis; of great industrial agitation and rebellion. Big mass meetings, for and against, marked its course. Riots and federal military suppression were among its features. It was a volcanic upheaval and a test of Republican institutions during the month or so that it lasted. Its reverberations were heard for a decade or more.

The 8-hour movement in 1886 also developed some general strike features, in that it embraced all trades and industries in its sweep. Chicago was the storm center of this movement and the hanging of the so-called anarchists (one of the most damnable frame-ups against workers ever perpetrated, as Gov. Altgeld subsequently showed), was its most historic episode. It accomplished much indirect good, as did the railroad strikes of 1877.

Next comes the general strike at Lawrence, Mass., to free Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso. This was a local general strike, confined to Lawrence and called to resent the imprisonment of the leaders of a successful strike. Its slogan, "Open the prison gates, or we'll close the gates of the mills," was literally put into effect. The Lawrence general strike was a great factor in the subsequent release of three prisoners of the class war.

Th recent May Day general strikes of the I. W. W.



The Passing of a Great Union!

By HARRY FISHER

JUST 23 months ago, Kern River Local, of the Oil-field, Gas well and Refinery Workers, was in the zenith of its power. Yesterday, July 23, 1923, spelled the final 23 for Local No. 19.

The Kern River fields are less than five miles from Bakersfield, California. For this reason, the local established its offices in the Labor Temple of this city. For a time the local was the strongest, numerically, of any craft affiliated with the central council. Naturally the local had a great deal of influence in the council, especially on the date of the council's annual election. The membership of Local No. 19 was around the thousand mark, hence an official seeking re-election, could not overlook such a local, and be a good ward heeler.

The Last Sad Rites

Yesterday the last sad rites were enacted over all that remained of the oil workers' union. Then the remaining furniture and office fixtures were sold for \$110.00. There were no formal ceremonies attending the obsequies; it was like the dying flicker of a wasted candle.

As a contrast to the enthusiastic meetings, overflowing the large meeting hall, we have it from the lips of one of the faithful die-hards, that the membership had stopped paying dues. Only seven members remained to hold the charter and if one of these was absent, there could be no quorum for a meeting.

Some of the proceeds from the sale of fixtures will go to pay outstanding bills and the rest given to a charitable institution or thrown into the waste basket. The latter most likely is only meant as a figure of speech, to show the disgust of the last of the rank and file, for **OFFICIALDOM HAD LONG AGO MIGRATED SOUTHWARD TOWARD LONG BEACH**, where the International president appealed

are well known. They affected two industries mainly: viz., lumber and marine transportation. General construction and oil were also partly affected. 100,000 workers participated in this movement in favor of the release of war-time prisoners and for immediate economic demands. The results were highly beneficial, as much was gained through them.

From this it will be seen that general strikes are becoming more general. They increase, despite barriers, with the expansion of big industry. Their spontaneous character makes it likely that they will flourish even where unionism is wiped off the earth.

General strikes are the working class reaction to general capitalism and its general policies.

to the city council for funds "with which to stamp out the I. W. W."

At Long Beach, to its everlasting disgrace may it be added, a "convention" passed a resolution opposing the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism laws. In this the oilworkers of that local distinguished themselves as being the only labor (?) organization in the state, to rise in the defense of a law that was only applied to the working class. Whether this was a gesture to gain the plaudits of the M. & M., who were then waging a relentless warfare on all organized labor and more particularly on the organization of the Industrial Workers, remains a moot question, yet there is no gainsaying the fact that its conception was rooted in mercenary avarice of the most venal type. Else why appeal to the representatives of big business for funds "to stamp out" a rival labor organization?

The Fiasco of 20 Months Ago

It is indeed with ill grace that these oil workers should now feel so cocky toward others, after the ignominious sequel of their own, ill-advised fiasco of over twenty months ago.

While in their hearts members of organized labor generally, may have disapproved the calling of that strike just before the winter months, yet not a voice was raised against giving the fullest support after the die was cast. **FOR LABOR WAS NOW ON TRIAL** and if this strike was lost, it would only encourage those forces whose lust was bent on complete annihilation of every union in the state.

What part the defeat of the oil workers played in subsequent struggles may be problematical, though it also may have been the vital factor.

Hardly had the oil workers called in the picket lines, when the Industrial Association hurled defiance and established the "American Plan" in "the largest and best organized community west of Chicago," when they bluntly told the building trades of San Francisco, that the "American Plan" had come to stay.

On the surface it would appear that no strike was ever launched under more favorable auspices.

The pickets were nearly all ex-service men. Unlike other strikes, these patrols were schooled in army discipline. Furthermore they had been deputized by constable, as peace officers. On the highways one found huge signs informing the traveler that: "You are now entering the strike zone. I. W. W. and bootleggers stay out." All day and night automobiles containing pickets watched the railway

stations. At the entrance to terminal yards other groups held the fort. Passengers on the stages had to be able to give a good account of themselves. The writer himself, known for years in the state, did not happen to be known to a particular squad that halted the stage on which he happened to be going to a union meeting and came very near being held for "investigation" or to be returned on a returning stage. Luckily the stage driver was able to vouch for him and he was allowed to pass, only to meet another squad a few miles further on. As the driver had the O. K. from the first squad, we were allowed to proceed to our destination. This is only an illustration, showing how every detail of post-duty in warfare was carried out. Just imagine seeing campfires ahead and then suddenly hearing the command to "HALT" and then seeing patrols, armed with rifles and with cartridge belts and holsters strapped to their sides as you rode along the different roads at night. It was a cinch that no strike-breakers got past these cordons of armed patrols, whom no policeman dared to interrupt. All along the railway for thirty miles either way, in any direction, the patrols kept vigil, to see that no train stopped and that no strike-breaker jumped off.

Under these circumstances it would seem that the strike could not be lost. Yet the strike, which was called on September 11th, was ended before the month of November had been fairly started.

A \$250,000 defense fund and over \$50,000 donated by labor organizations, represented a pretty fair war-chest and besides this the West Side fields, extending from Maricopa through Taft, Fellows, McKittrick, Belridge and on to Lost Hills, were separate divisions, with their own headquarters and their own finances. Then at Coalinga, in Fresno county, the banner local of the entire San Joaquin valley held the lines.

Well-stocked commissaries and canteens, must have made the patrols think of the "Y" huts over in France. Beds were placed in the labor temple for the patrols to rest and sleep until the "officer of the day" called them to go on post duty.

Then came notices for the strikers who were living on the leases, to vacate the cottages. Lawyers took the matter into court and the strikers got the advantage of a thirty day notice requirement in all eviction cases.

Surely, if ever strikers had favorable conditions, the oil workers did. Yet after eleven weeks the general staff declared a truce, the patrols disbanded and everyone who could get back to his job was welcome to do so, for there was no hope of winning.

The operators were in a position to dictate the terms on which they would take a limited number back. The best conducted and best disciplined and most formidable strike of the age culminated in an abject surrender in eleven weeks. Why?

Because the operators understood the psychology of the membership better than did the membership itself. If it needed anything to substantiate this assertion, then the need is eloquently expressed in

a statement made by the "advisor" for the oil workers' union at an open session of the central council in Bakersfield, when he reported, though it may seem ludicrous, it was nevertheless a fact, that there were operatives employed by the companies whose duties consisted of examining discarded tobacco cans, cigarette packages, wearing apparel and everything that the workers buy, to enable the offices to keep a tabulated record of just how strong the union sentiment really was among the employees. In passing, he also found that on one large lease, he learned that everything that the workers bought was the product of scab labor. So when we reflect that among several hundred "union men" there could not be found a single article that bore the union label, it is no surprise to find that the companies felt a scornful contempt for a unionism that patronizes only scab labor itself. They had nothing to fear from such unionism.

Then came the Santa Barbara "conference" between the government and the operators and the employees, at which the Standard Oil Company was conspicuous by its absence. The outcome of this "conference" was not conducive to the enthusiasm of the membership, when their leaders practically accepted the "open shop" by the waiver of a closed shop clause in the agreements, except "the memorandum of terms."

During the following summer the oil workers' unions levied an assessment on the entire membership for the purpose of creating a "defense fund," with the particulars of which no doubt every superintendent was more familiar than the average wage-earner on the lease.

So when the time arrived for the renewal of the "memorandum of terms," the employees appeared on the defensive. The operators dictated "the terms." A wage cut of a dollar per day all round was agreed to, in fact every point of the operators was conceded with the exception of the continuation of the tripartite arrangement of conferences, which the operators refused to accede.

So a strike call was issued to commence when the old agreement expired, about September 1st. For "strategic" reasons this call was rescinded but a fortnight later the members were called off the jobs. A majority of the higher officials of the union were natives of Great Britain and, by a strange coincidence, the only large operating company declared to be "fair," was the British Dutch Shell Company, while the Union Oil Company, which used the American shield as its trade-mark, was the center of attack. Strange to say, after the strike was over, the newspapers published a story of what purported to be a kind of merger between the Dutch Shell and the Union Oil companies.

Though the writer does not now remember the details of the "merger," it seems a strange cozenage in view of previous estrangement (?) of these concerns.

A few minor companies, anticipating a temporary spurt of business for themselves, evidently felt that

it would redound to their profit, to be on the "fair" list, with no stoppage of production. But these may have been reckoning without the host if they figured on a monopoly of trade. The other companies had been preparing for just such a contingency.

When all the storage tanks and reservoirs were full and no strike was called, the operating companies began laying off men. This was the cue for calling a strike and many fell for it, little realizing that the companies were more prepared for a long siege than was the average employee.

Another thing, which may have disgusted the rank and file, was the fact that the refinery men were permitted to distill and rectify the contents of the well-stocked tanks for shipment. While the union made a pretense of calling these men out, it is nevertheless true that the refineries kept on refining. The Standard Oil Company continued producing oil and refining it, as though there was no union, while the few union members working for this company were not called out so as to enable them to continue to pay their pro rata of the assessments. Had they been called out, it would have made no difference to the company anyway, for they knew the men liked their jobs only too well.

So, in summing up, what was there at stake in this controversy? We are told that it was principle. When the closed shop was waived and a wage-cut accepted, in fact when every point was yielded there could not be much principle involved, in view of the purchases of non-union tobacco, cigarettes, shoes, hats and clothing, previously referred to, which fact the operators no doubt were keen to sense.

If it was expected that capital would be more considerate, because so many members of the union were ex-service men, the remark of Mr. Zeehandelaar, secretary of the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association, when he said to the editor of "The Dugout"—"To hell with you as a returned soldier!" may be illuminating.

Do not expect capital to respect you more when you come with hat in hand, seeking alms to be used toward the destruction of your fellow man. Do not let history mark you with a brand of Cain for passing resolutions, conniving at the unjust imprisonment of fellow workingmen. Do not add to the infamy of barbarism by assuming the role of a stool. There is no honor in it, when even Judas "went out and hanged himself." Don't be cravens.

While the modern Pilates are passing sentences of twenty-eight years, do not shout "Crucify Him!" All are our brothers' keepers. Capital will take good care of itself.

It was a California bard, Joaquin Miller, "the poet of the Sierras," that wrote

"In men, whom men condemn as ill,

I see so much of goodness still:

While in men whom men pronounce divine,

I see so much of sin and blot,

I hesitate to draw a line

Between the two—where God has not."

—For yesterday the curtain was rung down on the final act on the last vestige of a tragedy where only

a little while ago, the Oil Workers' Union felt invincible. Verily the proud and haughty could be no more humbled than when they asked a city council for funds to crush a militant union.

An Outline of the Labor Movement

Reviewed by PHILIPP TAFT.

BOOKS and pamphlets giving an outline of the currents, tendencies and history of the labor movement serve a more genuine need than do the large and voluminous treatises on abstract philosophy typical of the radical wing of the movement.

The lessons that one can gain by reading the history of labor in America, its pitfalls and methods, its policies and forms, are far more lasting and less open to argument than conclusions deduced from purely philosophical speculation.

It is that factor that makes "An Outline of the American Labor Movement," a syllabus for study classes, by Leo Woltman, an interesting as well as an important contribution to labor's literature.

Briefly outlining the factors that lead to and from labor organization, the author refers the reader to a number of works dealing with particular phases of the movement.

Writing, as he does, for the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, it is to be expected that the author of this study would minimize the influence and importance of organizations like the I. W. W., who, he says, are small in numbers, but vigorous in methods; and, after spectacular strikes in lumber and textile industries, survived to see their influence wane and their numbers dwindle.

To all of which the I. W. W. answers: Our numbers may have dwindled on account of fierce persecution but the permanency of the I. W. W. in peace times is manifested by recent growth and the splendid battles of its membership in California, Washington and Oregon; not to mention the marine workers' strikes on the East coast.

As a whole, readers will find this pamphlet helpful and instructive, an aid toward finding larger volumes dealing with the labor movement in a more elaborate manner.

[Workers' Education Bureau of America, Publishers, New York City.]

Ford as Labor Historian

When it came to writing the Origin of Species Darwin did a big job. But when it comes to writing The Origin of Labor Unions, Ford is doing a bigger job still. The labor union, according to the much-advertised auto maker, was organized by the Jew financiers as a means to get their hands on industry. Shades of trade union history! What was it Marx said about the capitalist being great because he is a capitalist and not a capittalist because he's great?

The I. W. W. Flag Flies in Hoboken

HOBOKEN, N. J., is a part of the port of New York. It is the terminal of great German-American transatlantic lines, that enjoy the paternal patronage of the U. S. Shipping Board. This, to the great profit of their financial owners and loss to the U. S. Treasury.

Hoboken is also a stronghold of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, I. W. W.

A strike has been raging in Hoboken. It was a strike of longshoremen, unorganized and organized. During the strike the I. W. W. hall at 316 River St. was raided and its flag torn down.

The story of the raid is told in the following telegram of protest sent to Governor Silzer of New Jersey demanding the arrest and prosecution of Shipping Board officials in Hoboken, who are charged with acts of mob violence in raiding their hall. The telegram quoted a statement inciting trouble given to newspapers by officials of a Shipping Board line. This statement said:

"If Hoboken had any pride whatsoever it would chase out the undesirable I. W. W. It has been done in other places."

The telegram in part follows:

"In spite of the knowledge that we were lawful in our acts, these Shipping Board officials tried to incite the American Legion to violence against us, on the charge that we were flying a red flag over our hall.

"The American Legion refused to be the tool of the Shipping Board.

"Unable to use the legion in unlawful acts, a mob, under the leadership of Thomas Dunn, a foreman on the Shipping Board docks, wrecked our Hoboken hall Saturday. Our property was destroyed and our branch secretary, John Gunlach, was assaulted.

"We demand that you live up to your oath of office and investigate and prosecute these Shipping Board officials for their illegal actions."

The flag has been replaced and is still flying.

Argentine Labor Slaves

Labor recruiters penetrate to remote villages of Northern Argentine and with the promise of high wages induce Indians and their families to leave home. The laborers are transported on flat cars with accommodations worse than those provided for live stock. They are herded on estates under the open sky without sufficient food. They are hard workers, and their pay is practically nothing, their wages being in the form of orders, valid only at the plantation store, where they are charged exorbitant prices for the poorest quality of goods. If any balance is left at the end of the accounting, the workers are induced to spend it for liquors, of which they are very fond. The national department of labor of Argentina is authority for this information.



Be a Cork -- Be an I. W. W.

A little cork fell in the path of a whale,
Who lashed it down with his angry tail;
But in spite of his blows
It quickly arose
And floated serenely before his nose.

Said the cork, "You may flap and sputter and rap,
But you never can keep me down,
For I'm made of the stuff
That is buoyant enough
To float instead of to drown."

—Selected.

The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, I. W. W., has more than trebled its membership in the past year. It has a G. O. C. man in Michigan, organizing unorganized territory. A stationary delegate has been elected at Bangor, Maine.

Frank Lindroos

DEAD COMPOSER

IT is one of the indictments of capitalist society that too often it drives sensitive men of genius to despair and suicide; especially those who look forward to a new society. Such a man is the well-known musician and composer, Frank Lindroos, whose portrait is herewith reproduced. Lindroos on July 10 committed self-destruction at his home in Duluth, Minn., the victim, so it is believed, of sorrow and overwork. He was much beloved and his end is deeply regretted.

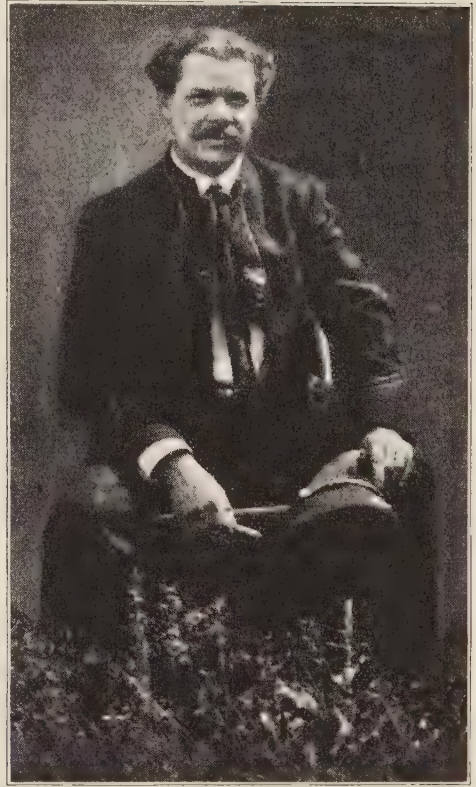
Born in Petrograd in 1874, he supported himself and family by playing the violin on the streets of that city when only 10 years of age. Later, at Viborg, Finland, and Petrograd, Russia, he was connected, as a musician, with military bands. He came to this country in 1904.

During this and following years, there was a boom in the Socialist movement among the Finns in the United States. Lindroos got in contact with this movement and joined. With success, he also conducted bands and orchestras in eastern cities; and, in 1913, settled, together with his family, at Duluth, Minn. Here, in the controversy between the political socialists and the industrial unionists, Frank Lindroos lined up with the "wobblies." Ever since then he has been connected with the local Finnish Association at Duluth. At all entertainments in behalf of the cause, Frank Lindroos did his share, supplying the music.

Lindroos' first composition, a march, was written in Petrograd, when he was 24 years of age. But most of his work in this line was done in his later years. The revolutionary struggles in Europe brought much inspiration and material to him. Numerous are the compositions that he wrote from them. When the white terror swept Finland, Lindroos expressed its horrors in music. And so appeared "The Concentration Camp at Viborg" "This Land" and many others. His last composition was called "The Deaths on the Gravel Hills." This is considered one of Lindroos' best works; and its composer has stated that it contains his heart aches and tears.

Many are the works of Frank Lindroos. When the Revolution took place in Russia and the Czar was overthrown then "New Russia" was also composed. Therein one could feel the rising power of labor. Numerous also are the songs of Joe Hill that Fellow Worker Lindroos has arranged for orchestra and chorus. These songs, of course, are heard wherever there is a working class in existence.

Among Americans and non-working class elements Lindroos was a noted musician. Time and time again had he been offered good places in large orchestras, only to turn them down. He wanted to do his duty among his own class. Only last Spring, Lindroos arranged the music for "Creation," given at the Duluth Summer Festival. The



general opinion was that this was the best music the festival ever had. Only after Lindroos had died, was it given out that "Creation" was his work.

Frank Lindroos is dead. In the words of Joe Hill "Don't mourn; Organize!" to end capitalism.

Science and Nationalism

The city of Gothenburg in Sweden is celebrating the third centennial anniversary of its founding. In connection with the celebration the country has opened an industrial exposition.

During the summer, quite a few congresses have been held there by different associations. At the congress of scientists recently held, a number of scientists lectured on a lot of scientific subjects.

Among them was Professor Einstein, who spoke on "The Theory of Relativity." After the lecture he was interviewed by a bourgeois reporter. The latter asked Einstein: "What is your opinion, Professor, of Swedish science?"

To this Einstein answered: "There is no Swedish nor English nor French nor German science. Science is International."

Let us add, so is industry; and so are the Wobblies and their organization.—C. G. ANDERSON, Stockholm, Sweden.

The I. W. W. Steel Strike

(Continued from page 4)

ing was done by the director of public safety to prevent this meeting. Evidently, he had already begun to realize that his bluff had been successfully called. All the literature on hand was sold. The crowd at both street meetings was practically the same.

One of the features of the steel campaign will be educational. Field headquarters with literature stations are now being established as a result of the conference's decisions.

Great quantities of literature have been shipped to the many points during the past two years, but the amount has been much increased during the last few weeks and just previous to the conference one hundred thousand new leaflets were sent out from the Chicago Main Office. Additional material will be forwarded to the field forces as fast as needed to carry on the work of organization and education. Several hundred additional job delegates throughout the steel industry will also be appointed as a result of the conference's actions. Headquarters will be added wherever necessary in the steel centers. General organizers will be added, as conditions require.

Special efforts will be made to explain industrial unionism to uninformed workers that are now entering the steel industry, such as the Mexican workers who have been imported recently, and the Negro laborers from the South, who are now being brought in in large shipments.

Without doubt, the steel campaign will also give renewed impetus to I. W. W. organization in other parts of the metal and machinery industry. Branches already established feel the impetus which the new drive giving. Especially is this true of the large metal and machinery centers of Ohio. This is felt to be the biggest campaign that was ever undertaken by the I. W. W. in the key industries of the country.

"Wake up, metal-machinery workers! Get behind the steel drive!" is the cry now heard. Old timers are getting active again and a new lease of life is apparent on all sides.

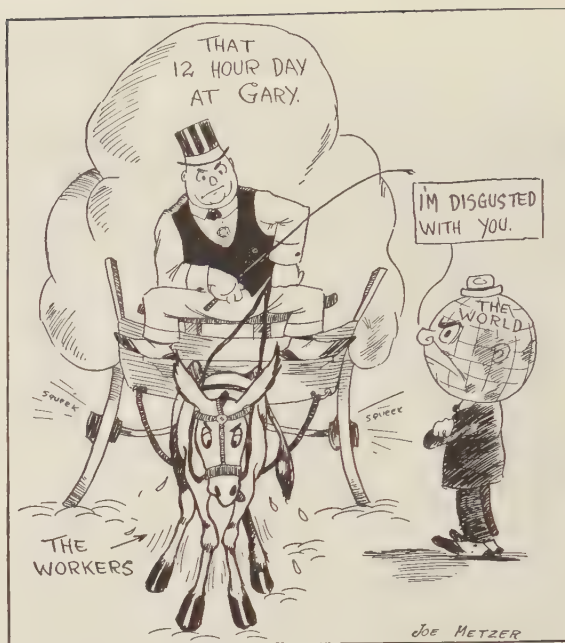
Close co-operation and financial assistance is expected by the Metal Workers' Main Office from all the branches of the union and subordinate parts of the organization as a whole, and, no doubt, it ought to be forthcoming.

All the members and sympathizers can also help in this work. Agitate I. W. W. organization among the metal and machinery workers in your city. You'll find them in machine shops, foundries, auto works, etc., etc. Go after them! Line them up to back this steel drive!

Already is 440 feeling an increase in membership.

The Toledo conference took up and adopted the following recommendations to 440 branches:

(1) The issuing of Steel Drive Contribution Lists at once, (2) the issuing of a \$1 Steel Drive special assessment stamp, (3) that each branch and



He Said a Mouthful!

group of I. U. 440 should hold three affairs for financing of the steel drive, one in July, one in August and one in September, the full proceeds to go to the steel drive, (4) every delegate at the conference to pledge himself to a certain amount to be raised prior to September 1st.

All aboard for the steel drive. It's now or never!

Convention Draws Near

THE I. W. W. convention is drawing near. General Secretary Harry Clark has already addressed the industrial unions and branches on matters relating to it. The suggestions contained therein are worth considering. They deal with the improvement and expansion of the I. W. W. as a whole.

There is no doubt that the I. W. W. is confronted with a great opportunity and that it will endeavor to rise equal to it. Great numbers of unorganized await organization, both among migratories and homeguards. Revolt is in the trade union air. Organizations are tearing away from the A. F. of L. with nowhere to go.

It is up to the I. W. W. to get out of the rut and meet these facts bodily. It must raise ways and means wherewith to solve the problems thrust upon it by economic conditions generally. It must secure the money and the ability to organize the working class, or else disappoint the latter at a crucial period during its existence. It must improve and expand or shrivel and disappear.

The I. W. W. has all else, namely, correct principles, philosophy and spirit. It needs better and more organization.

The White Terror in Italy

By M. De CIAMPIS

THE war fought on the European battlefields from 1914 to 1918 that was to outlaw war and bring about a new era of democracy and good will among the people of the whole world, left in every country a marked sentiment of revolt and discontent. This particularly applied to Italy, which, in such a war shamefully spent all its economic resources to further the imperialistic aims of its bourgeois class. The working classes who unwillingly had fought in the bloody conflict for so many years found themselves, at the end of the war, much more impoverished, overtaxed, without work, and with the ruling class without any constructive plan that would adequately meet the unusual situation and build, on the widespread ruin and chaos, the welfare of the people. Oppressed under the iron heel of a ruthless military machine, that in the war had poorly showed itself, the Italian workers, notwithstanding the rosy war promises of the politicians and the government, began to think over and take matters into their own hands, trying to work out their own salvation.

War's Bitter Lessons

The war had taught many a bitter lesson. It showed its own utter uselessness and stupidity. Thousands and thousands of soldiers in the trenches, so thinking, acquired a radical mental attitude and, kindled by the fire of socialist teachings, soon became revolutionists in body and soul. Seeing that the powers that be had no concern at all about the rights of man and the welfare of the people, they took a keen interest in the problem of the hour, namely, that of the nation's economic reconstruction on a more equitable basis.

That the ruling class did not care to concern itself much about the very needs of the working masses was soon plainly felt and seen. The government dumped the idle soldiers on the labor market and the captains of industry did not arrange any comprehensive plan that would give work, bread and comfort to the workers and appease their discontent. The breakdown of the capitalist system of the nation could not be more eloquently seen. Italy, in the last year of the war was doomed to go down as a bourgeois regiment; and, in 1919 and 1920, was a country hopelessly lost for the dominant system of society and held on mostly by the sheer force of its old decayed remains of vitality. Only now, after the bloody defeat of the proletariat, we can see how and why the Italian bourgeoisie was saved from inevitable collapse. No better man than Ludovico D' Aragona, the Gompers of Italy and yellow socialist, secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor, can testify to this. Last year, this man, in one of his speeches, remarkable for its brazen frankness and affrontery on the heroic sacrifices and prowess of the fighting working class, said: "**It is praise and honor**

to us (meaning all his reformist following in the G. C. of L. and in the Socialist Party) to have stood firmly against the extremists and hindered the outbreaking of the impending revolution. We are those most responsible for having listened too much to them; but our conscience is clear and tells us that we have done all that could possibly have been expected to restrain the impatient masses." No wonder that only the other day, Mussolini, the Fascist chieftain and practical dictator of the country, we read in a press dispatch, embraced and kissed D' Aragona in the Chamber of Deputies, when the latter went to congratulate him, after having finished one of the many stupid and tactless speeches in behalf of the new electoral reform, which is to give more electoral power to the Fascisti Party and assure it a stable and trustworthy support in the Chamber.

Working Class Rise to Power Feared

With the industries disorganized and prostrate; with a monetary system becoming every day more worthless; with the workers lying idle, incapacitated even from buying the most necessary things to sustain life; with no foreign markets for the products of whatever little was produced; with a military machine that sucked the life blood of all, and a rapacious dominant class bent to despoil its victims; without any human thought and no thoughts nor plans to rise above all this collapse, the Italian bourgeoisie saw the only chance of salvation in the arming of the White Guards. So it came about that Mussolini and his followers, the Fascisti, were armed and financed by the captains of industries and the lords of the land bent on destroying the conquests of the workers. Because amid much capitalistic disorder and ruin the working class had succeeded finally in coming to a power of its own.

Most of the American fellow workers know too well what has taken place in Italy during the years 1921-23. During these years a bitter and bloody struggle has been waged against the economically organized working class, continuing even now. Labor organizations that in 1920 were in a commanding position and full of ardor and zeal in the ever rising power of the workers throughout the land, in the last two years have been crushed, and if surviving, stripped of their rights. A reign of terror, the white heartless, ferocious, beastly terror of panicky masters, took hold of the Italian peninsula and every freedom-loving man was either beaten or killed. The Fascist's butcheries greatly resemble those of Mannerheim in Finland; Horthy in Hungary; Noske in Germany—done in the name of the social-pluto-democracy of Hugo Stinnes and Company. More than that, all these butcheries taken together grow pale in comparison with those

ordered by Mussolini and acquiesced in by a demoralized capitalist class.

Fascismo Worst Rule Ever

Often has it been said that the Fascisti dictatorship so far has been worse than the Austrian, Papal or Bourbonic rule that more than 50 years ago unhappily . . . blessed Italy. Bad as each one of them was from every conceivable viewpoint, Fascismo has done much more in stifling free thought and initiative. In fact, if Lord Gladstone, appalled by the trocify of the Bourbonic rule in Southern Italy, once said, that King Bomba of Naples was "**the negation of God**" because he shot, imprisoned and exiled men of talent and genius; Mussolini is the reincarnation of King Bomba.

Literally tens of thousands of Italian workers have been either killed, imprisoned or exiled. We know too well of the hardships that our fellow workers in other countries suffered, namely, those who have repaired to France, Switzerland, Vienna, Berlin, Spain, Greece, Egypt and South America. If they would have remained in Italy, they would certainly have been coolly murdered by the Vandalic hordes of Mussolini. And yet, some American citizens, in speaking of the Fascisti rule, have much praised it! In answer to them we appeal to the freedom-loving spirit, to the keen interest in justice and liberty of the makers of America!

Seizing Power

After wrecking and crushing almost every revolutionary labor organization, especially the Italian Sindicalist Union that had fought so many gallant battles in behalf of the working class, up to the very last of its breath, Fascismo, (the reader should read **fessismo**) felt safe enough to seize power. So in the fall of 1922, it, on advice of the predatory financial and industrial interests of the nation, directed its marauding bands of cowardly hooligans, assassins and outlaws towards Rome, where an impotent government, the one headed by Factas, was earnestly waiting for the last stroke in order to fall. Fascismo, being a movement wholeheartedly supported and encouraged by the **ultra**-reactionary elements of the master's class, it follows that all those that parasitically make a living from the exploitation of Labor, are in favor of it. The army, the police, most of the white collar slaves were jubilant over every Fascismo-mad triumph. Seizing the reins of State, it became apparent that Fascismo had no other object and aim than that of installing itself in power and leaving the laboring people more than ever before in the hands of a ruthless clique of exploiters. In fact, Fascismo had no program whatever on which to work out its aims in the government chairs of the nation; and its policy merely had to follow the **dictum** and the program of the exploiters of Labor.

Fascismo Impossible

— Many rosy-cheeked promises have been made to the people by the Fascisti chiefs on occasions in

order to secure some worthwhile support; but none of them have been kept. Fascisti oratory could not cure the ills afflicting such a nation as Italy—mostly economic ills that could be readjusted only through a rearrangement of the social system whereby the workers, and the workers alone, should manage the industries and control the wealth of the nation, through their industrially organized labor organizations.

That Fascismo has failed, is a well known fact. It could only be an element of destruction against the working class institutions created by the workers during 50 years of tireless effort. It maintains itself in the saddle of power by force and violence only. Resting on the support of a couple of hundred thousands hot- and sore-heads, the emptiness of which is an assured fact beyond any cavil, it is most hated and cursed by the thinking people who long for the return of sanity and decency in the affairs of state and country. Even the bourgeois opposition of Fascismo is becoming daily more and more noticeable. No less a paper than the "**Corriere della Sera**" of Milan, edited by Senator Albertini, chief spokesman for the intelligent conservative bourgeoisie of northern Italy, is bitterly opposing Fascismo and pleads for the return to the methods of constitutional government and an ultimate attempt to save the nation from ruin, which will happen if Mussolini will have his way any longer.

It goes without saying that the tired and bleeding working class is most decidedly opposed to Fascismo.. It is recuperating from the blows that so far have been experienced. Another significant fact is the many dissensions that have lately broken out in the Fascist's camps and rent asunder part of the organization. All in all, history will tell in the future of the dastardly accomplishments of Fascismo, just as similar phenomena has been judged in the past by the progressive forces of mankind. No right-thinking man or woman can ever condone the affront made to civilization by the handful of followers of "the brigand of Predappio," as Mussolini is referred to by his enemies.

Rays of Hope

Out of the dark cloud that at present hangs over Italy, come bright rays of hope and faith. The working class, though broken and beaten, is not doomed. Every bourgeois scoundrel should know that! Its revolutionary soul is still in the hearts of many valiant fighters for the advancement of Labor, and the mighty songs of our poets, still in the bosom of the unbeaten workers, are chanted with a bit of melancholy but fiery determination. Cleansed of the lurid elements of speculative opportunism that came among the working class in the hour of success and triumph, the workers, left alone, are silently, patiently, fearlessly preparing themselves for the solemn hour of reckoning. Let Fascismo beware! The working class will soon come to its own!

The Negro in the Sacramento Woodpile

By RALPH CHAPLIN

MANY people wondered why President Harding did not include the Sacramento I. W. W. group in the commutations he issued just before starting on his trip to Alaska. At the eleventh hour, the President was induced to grant conditional release to the Chicago and Wichita groups. But the Sacramento men were almost entirely ignored.

It was expected at this time that the long-delayed release of political prisoners would be general and include all three groups. Many had been led to expect such action by Mr. Harding's statement that he, "would be glad when the contention over these prisoners becomes a closed question." The conditional commutations which he granted grudgingly as a sop to public sentiment did very little to make the question a closed one. On the contrary, it made this already vexatious problem more difficult of solution than ever before.

A Political Blunder

Men and women who favor release look upon his action as a political blunder. They feel that the President's indecisive action is unsatisfactory to everyone concerned and that, particularly, the inclusion of drastic and misleading conditions on the commutations was anything but just and wise. Be that as it may, the problem is not solved; it is merely complicated.

There is no fundamental difference between the Sacramento cases and other cases. Senator Pepper and numerous other capable and conservative lawyers who have examined the facts thoroughly are emphatic on this point, insisting that these federal I. W. W. cases should be considered as a whole and that political prisoners are all worthy of immediate and unconditional release.

Senator Pepper, on June 16th made the following statement regarding this case:

"The Sacramento case, like the others, was appealed, but the court sustained all the counts. This fact has been cited by Department of Justice officials as cancelling the claim that the Sacramento prisoners are 'political' prisoners confined only for expression of opinion. They have sometimes been referred to vaguely as 'murderers' and 'dynamiters,' though neither the charge of murder nor dynamiting figures in the 'overt acts' alleged against them.

"To say merely that the Court of Appeals affirmed the conviction of the Sacramento defendants leaves out the equally important fact that the court, owing to a delay in the filing of the bill of exceptions, did not have the evidence before it. The decision, therefore, was merely on the validity of the indictment." This fact has previously been noted, and Senator Pepper emphasized it again in his discussion of the case.

It is Senator Pepper's opinion that, when the appellate courts in the Wichita and Chicago cases,

in the latter of which the full trial record was reviewed, reversed the conviction of the defendants on the "sabotage" counts, they established a "controlling precedent" which would have governed in the Sacramento case if the evidence had been reviewed.

The "sabotage" charge was the same in all three cases. Pepper holds, therefore, that, while there is a technical difference between the legal status of the Wichita and Chicago cases on the one hand and the Sacramento case on the other, there is no moral difference.

But Mr. Harding, for some reason, insists on making a distinction. He has stubbornly refused to consider the question of commutation for the Sacramento group. It is insisted that the men remain in prison but when reasons are asked for they are not forthcoming. There is a report, purporting to come from Mr. Christian, Secretary to the President, that the Sacramento prisoners, "believe in the overthrow of the government by force." But this charge is too absurd to be taken seriously. Nothing of the sort was charged against them at their trial. So it must be some other reason that persuades the President to keep these men locked up.

The recent references to the "vicious crimes" of this group has created the impression that they are in reality guilty of doing other things besides expressing their opinions. What are these crimes? When and where were they committed? Would the evidence have convinced the jury of guilt in peace times? And if so, why were the prisons of the land not filled with such miscreants before the war sent the first batch of them behind the bars?

Disagrees With Pepper

The President evidently has not asked himself these questions and is therefore in serious disagreement with Senator Pepper who has. It would seem that the judgment of such an able and distinguished constitutional lawyer would impress Mr. Harding somewhat. But it does not appear to have done so. Apparently some sinister and powerful influence has reached him and he has simply hardened his heart. The appeal to his Anglo-Saxon sense of fair play and to his often-expressed devotion to the tradition of American justice leave him equally unmoved. As do the examples of Lincoln and Grant in regards to amnesty. They do not inspire him in the least. He is even unmoved by the opinions of his own best legal advisers. Whose voice then has reached him that he is so implacably unyielding? These are questions asked by thousands who are puzzled by his incomprehensible stubbornness on the subject of amnesty.

The question arises in the minds of many, is there really a difference between the Sacramento and other cases? Are the men more culpable than the German spies and dynamiters whom he has released uncondi-

tionally or the other political prisoners whose cases he at least consented to consider?

This is the impression the President and his amiable Attorney General have seemingly sought to convey to the public. But it is not borne out by the facts. In the opinion of Senators Pepper, Borah and a host of other disinterested investigators this viewpoint is utterly erroneous. Evidently then we must probe deeper for the hidden reason that prompts the President to pursue his inexorably unyielding attitude.

As far as comparative "guilt" is concerned the Sacramento case does not in reality stand apart from the other cases. It is part and parcel of the labor cases prosecuted during the war under the convenient provisions of the espionage law. The conviction took place at the height of the war-hysteria. The indictment was practically the same and the same charges of violence and destruction were used. Diamond and Coutts, it is true, added their unwholesome weight to the prosecution, but these government stool-pigeons have since been so discredited by their own lies that intelligent juries on the West coast refuse longer to be swayed by them.

The Silent Defense

The Sacramento case differs from the other cases in one respect only. The story of the "silent defense" adopted by these men and adhered to throughout their lengthy trial is too well-known to need retelling here. The "silent defense" was unique in the history of American courts. It was at once a challenge and an accusation. And no doubt this "silent defense" held against the Sacramento group to a degree by the conservative gentlemen who are keeping them in prison today. Such a defense with these gentlemen is no doubt anathema. It horrifies them to think that American workingmen refused to spend money for a mockery of a trial in court when they were convinced in advance that conviction was certain.

But the "silent defense" put the Sacramento group in an unusual position which at present works to their disadvantage. No record was made in court of the evidence and no exceptions were taken as to the admissibility of evidence or the rulings of the judge. They were not represented by counsel and so it was impossible for the defendants to appeal their case to the higher courts. Had they been able to do this the obnoxious and unsustainable counts in their indictments, charging violence, etc., would no doubt have been dropped as was done in the Chicago and Wichita cases.

No Exception

But do these largely unfounded charges and the irregularity in the trial proceedings account for the fact that the men are still in prison? Unquestionably not. Senator Pepper, Senator Borah, Captain Lanier and the other experts no doubt took these

facts into consideration when, after exhaustive study they stated that ALL political prisoners should be released—WITH NO EXCEPTIONS. But why is the President so immovable? And why does he hold out even in the face of political expediency, against the liberation of these workingmen?

There is a reason and a very real and obvious one which forces itself upon the attention of anyone studying these cases in their broader aspects. There MUST be a reason why Mr. Harding has singled these cases out for special severity. One guess is as good as another. This is mine:

California to Blame

These men are being punished not for being members of the I. W. W., but for being members of the I. W. W. convicted in the militantly anti-labor state of California. California—the Golden State, the home of reaction, the frame-up, the open-shop and many other manifestations of unremitting labor persecution. Her corporations and land owners are prosperous, determined, vindictive and very influential. And politicians of the reactionary stripe in Washington (and some of her local ones who pretend to be progressive) are notoriously eager to give ear to their counselings. Beyond the shadow of a doubt it is the arrogant, unchecked and unreprimanded business interests of California that are instrumental in keeping the Sacramento men in prison? They have done the same thing with Tom Mooney and others for years when the whole world knows them to be innocent.

It remains now for the labor movement and the liberals of America to force the issue or to share the shame of the consequences. The President should be asked bluntly and in unmistakable terms whom he intends to listen to,—the voice of intelligent public opinion backed up, as it is, by the judgement of his own legal advisers, or the still, small, machiavellian voice from the state of orange groves and jails.

If it is not the insidious allurements of California's financial sirens that has charmed his ear perhaps he will be willing to tell us what has.

At all events it is time that he laid his cards on the table!

A new revised and enlarged edition of the pamphlet, "The I. W. W. in Theory and Practice" is now off the press. This is the best I. W. W. seller. Fifty-five thousand copies have been printed in English. It can also be had in Finnish, Italian, Portuguese and Croatian. Price, 15 cents.

Subscribe for The Industrial Pioneer.
One year, \$2; 6 months, \$1. Address,
1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



WOBBLES

TANK BUILDING

Picture of a riveter
 Apoundin' on a pin;
Picture of a bucker-up
 Aholdin' rivets in;
Picture of a bossman,
 Awalkin' all aroun',
Tellin' to the riveter,
 "Poun' 'em clear down";
Many men aworking
 And workin' damn'd hard;
Many men aworkin'
 That ain't got a card—

- - - - -

Damn this piece work job
And my hurry-up pard.
E. A. Arnold, WP188

Say, Pioneer, how in hell do you manipulate this 20,000 phantom I. W. W. Army, that have been advancing lately across the front columns of some of our best newspapers? Being General of Gizitsky's famous cavalry, I would like to command a few swift brigades of your "foot-loose" grenadiers.

Respectfully yours,
General Painsky P. Scrapovich.

Now that the communists have succeeded in confederating new "feather-weighted" Farmer-Labor Party minus both ingredients, will you kindly inform me just how many years have elapsed since Wm. Bouck left his plough in the mustard fields of Sedro-Woolley?

Charles De Rotenberg of the Barker's Party, is now champion of the "Feather-weighted" Toreadors of the Working M—asses. Address all soft cushions to The Politicus hindquarters, New York.

Famous Toreadors of America:

Bill Bryan	Judge Gary
Arthur Brisbane	Bill Burns
Sammy Gompers	Woodrow Wilson
Supreme Court	

Why not give scopolamine test to the co-operatives before they establish any more banks for organized toilets—or toilers.

Kind old lady who meets little boy coming from school asks:

"And my little man, could you tell me what class you are in?"

"Yes, Ma'am; the working class."

Card 796073.

Health Note: "Take the Air", a la Eden

By Dr. CUREM AHL

Well, well, wonders never cease! That scientist (!) out in Frisco who's got an electronic theory that cures all diseases—beg pardon—I should say who's got an electronic machine (it don't matter much, however, it's pretty nearly the same thing), is behind the age apparently; in fact, he has arrived a decade and a half too late! Here's a natureman who writes to inform the Pioneer that he's got him beaten to a frazzle. For 15 years he's been getting electric air currents directly from the atmosphere—taking the air, as it were—without—shall we blush to say it?—the interference of any personal adornment whatsoever, except, of course, a smile of pure and undefiled satisfaction; not to mention gratification.

He calls it, "Clothless clothing" and "Ozoning the body." He says, "Go thou and do likewise." As he lives out in the redwoods of California that's

all right. But consider what would happen here in Chicago, if any great portion of its 2,500,000 inhabitants should ever become enamoured with the advice and go around in garments designed, not in accordance with the latest Parisian models, but those in style in the most primitive days of the Garden of Eden. Why—but what's the use to try to picture the situation that would probably ensue. It taxes our prophetic powers just as it would, most likely tax the powers of police, should it ever come to pass. We must, therefore, rely on the scientific imagination of the reader to help us out.

Says he—now remember, he's dead in earnest about this—says he:—

"Customarily clothing hides a multitude of sins and mounds of filth." (Heavens, is it as bad as all that? How did you happen to find it out?)

"Medical men, clothing dealers, and other knowing

ones are slow in owning up to the unnaturalness of customary clothing for business reasons. (Righto, old boy. That accounts for the lack of confession in all capitalist enterprises.) "Plants by the wayside, when covered with dust, will not grow. Eggs will not hatch when dirty; and man expects to live eternally when covered with clothing and the filth that it accumulates." (Oh, the d——n fool man!)

"Dr. Abrams is curing any and all diseases by electricity" (Go slow, old man; consult Dr. Liber first; see *July Pioneer*); "while I have proved to my own satisfaction in the last 15 years the same results can be achieved by using the electric air currents of the atmosphere direct. This, in combination with oxygen produces the elixir of life, the so-called Ozone, which, when taken in properly, prevents any and all diseases.

"People have been made to believe that, in order to live, all that is necessary is to inhale pure air through the nose or mouth; while the proper way is to absorb the free-for-all ozone through the pores of the naked body." (We repeat again, this is impossible in Chicago. First, there is no free-for-all ozone

here. We have a gefillte atmosphere, stuffed with smoke clouds and bituminous cinders. Second, the police and our own innate modesty won't let us.) "Experiments of scientists have shown that the encasing of the human body in plaster of paris has caused death in a few hours." (We believe this without any difficulty whatever. We used to wear starched collars and boiled shirts one time. After that, we can easily imagine what a plaster paris uniform would do to us.)

"In 1915, a newspaperman told me that my experiments are kept out of print, because they would revolutionize the world. Other newspapermen think highly of my experiments as a natureman. I hope you will give me the much desired publicity that capitalist sheets will not give."

Sure, old boy; sure! You have a good deal of truth behind you! We do not live as naturally as we should! Also you go Dr. Abrams one better in that you would prevent, rather than cure disease. But here we must part company, as we live, not in the Redwoods of California, but on the west side of Chicago. Au revoir.

Oh Horrors!

By WOODYBI SIANTIFIC

I awoke with a terrific start. The room was flooded with light, and I knew it must be about five or six o'clock. It was remarkable that I could have noted these conditions, for I was in a most heart gripping panic of fear. Some uncanny presence was in that room. A fearful thing was about to happen. My salivary glands became paralyzed with the result that my tongue stuck to the palate. The vaso-constrictor nerves had functioned promptly and shut off the blood supply to several parts of my body. My toes were tingling, and every hair was standing erect. It seemed that my heart had migrated to the cranium and was trying to push the eardrums out beyond the periphery of my body.

Lying there in that terrible state of apprehension I took account of all the familiar noises and objects within my vicinity, and noted how unusually dear to me they now seemed. Surely these things had been present for the last six or seven months that I had been a resident in this room, but they had never made the particular appeal that they now possessed. As impending tragedy stalked farther into my consciousness and set awirl anticipation of the probable outcome I affectionately watched the little canary hop from perch to perch, the while trilling his early morning carol. How softly he sang! He had done that on previous mornings and I thought it was intended to wake me gently, but now I knew his notes contained warning.

Even the pictures on the wall seemed to sense the danger. They had a startled expression. I fancied they signaled me to remain quiet for a moment. All about the room was that grating, shrieking si-

lence that omens imminent catastrophe. This suspense could not last long; it was maddening. And just as I would have turned my head in the direction from whence I expected the attack to come the dripping water from the refrigerator seemed to pause and warn me to hold for a moment.

How precious life was just then! I reviewed the many vicissitudes of my experiences:—Cold nights spent in box-cars; miserable nights in lousy ten-cent flop houses; weary days in filthy prisons and slave pens, called factories; nerve-deadening, back-breaking, monotonous slavery for a mere pittance. Why should that monster, Fate, have spared me through all those harrowing experiences and come now when I am comparatively happy to snuff out my life? For six months I have worked steadily (the longest period in my life), and have been going to school every night. Delving into those text-books at night and contemplating them by day has served, to some extent, to ameliorate the master's brutality. Cruel gods! Why, oh why should this abrupt ending come now!

At least I must not go down without an effort at defense. Arouse ye, said the Urge, and grapple with this intruder! Clinch him and try to choke his life out. Be quick, for there is no time to spare. Tensing every muscle—I was now quite alert—I prepared for the supreme struggle of my life. Until now I had been merely intuitively aware of his presence and location. Slowly, lest he note my consciousness, I turned my head to the right and beheld his ghastly face. Quick, action! Out went my right hand. Firmly grasping the lever on the alarm clock I pushed it against the clapper. It was all over.

Building the I. W. W.

An Outline of Its Forms and Practical Organization

TO begin with, the I. W. W. is built on the wage-working class. Unlike the A. F. of L., it is a labor organization; not a capitalist protective association. Consequently, none but wage-workers are admitted to membership in its ranks. These wage-workers may be of any size, shape, creed, color or sex. All that is required is that they work at wages for the profit of some employer. The latter may be an individual, a firm, a corporation, or a trust. They are all labor exploiters and, on that account, look alike to the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. organizes wage-workers only because it is fully convinced, in the words of the opening clause of its preamble, "that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." This their opposing organizations and continued increasing warfare eloquently testify. Further, the I. W. W. is fully convinced that employers' associations and chambers of commerce are impotent unless aided by the workers. Hence it refuses to render any aid to them or to assist them to blur the class lines through the admission of any but wage-workers or by espousing any other principles than those of the working class.

Industry the Basis

Next, the I. W. W. is built according to industry instead of trades. Employers nowadays take trades and unite them into industries. They also unite the industries into ever fewer hands. This centering of management makes the trade unions unable to cope with modern capitalism; as they present a divided organization against a compact one.

The I. W. W., in organizing the working class, pursues the same plan as the industrial magnates. It unites all the workers in an industry into a workers' industrial union and combines all the industrial unions thus organized into one big union of the industrial workers of the world, hence its name. The workers in the railroad industry, for instance, are organized into a railroad workers' industrial union, textile workers into a tex-

tile workers industrial union, and so on down the whole gamut of all the industries. And all the industrial unions thus organized form part, wherever they exist, of the Industrial Workers of the World, more popularly known as the I. W. W.

This method of organizing the workers JUST AS THEY WORK is pursued with the idea of ultimately enabling the workers to take over the industries in behalf of themselves and society, when the present system is either overthrown or collapses through its own inherent class conflicts and economic contradictions.

The I. W. W. calls this "building the new society within the shell of the old."

Present Industrial Unions

At present, the I. W. W. is composed of workers organized in the following industrial unions:

Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110; Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120; Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 130; Floriculture Workers' Industrial Union No. 140; Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210; Coal Miners' and Coke Oven Workers' Industrial Union No. 220; Oil, Gas and Petroleum Workers' Industrial Union No. 230; General Construction Workers' (Railroad, Road, Canal, Tunnel and Bridge Construction) Industrial Union No. 310; Ship Builders' Industrial Union No. 320; House and Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330; Textile and Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 410; Woodworkers' Industrial Union No. 420; Chemical Workers' Industrial Union No. 430; Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440; Printing and Publishing House Workers' Industrial Union No. 450; Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460; Leather Workers' Industrial Union No. 470; Glass and Pottery Workers' Industrial Union No. 480; Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510; Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520; Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless

Workers' Industrial Union No. 530; Municipal Transportation Workers' Industrial Union No. 540; Aerial Navigation Workers' Industrial Union No. 550; Health and Sanitation Workers' Industrial Union No. 610; Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' Industrial Union No. 620; Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 630 and General Utilities Workers' Industrial Union No. 650.

In addition to these, there is the General Executive Board and General Secretary-Treasurer, who represent the general organization.

Not A Mass Organization

It should be observed right now that the I. W. W. is not a mass organization, that is, it does not take the workers en masse and organize them regardless of modern industrial formation. As already shown above, it follows industrial lines in organizing the working class. Within these lines it has many subdivisions. They are known as Job branches, Industrial Union branches, Industrial District Councils, General District Councils, Industrial Departments and the General Industrial organization, comprising them all.

The I. W. W. is a growth from the bottom up. Let us follow it accordingly, starting from the beginning with the unorganized worker.

The latter is approached to join the organization in various ways. Appeals are addressed to him through the press and public meetings, leaflets and literature of various kinds. But mainly, at present, through the job delegate.

The Job Delegate

The job delegate is a member of the I. W. W. who is credentialed to organize workers "on the job"; that is, the place where he and they are employed. The job delegate is instructed by the organization on the procedure to be followed in initiating members and reporting on their activities. For these latter purposes many blank forms are issued, covering all the details, such as occupation, industry, applicant's name, industrial union and number, dues and initiations paid, supplies received and distributed, etc. Job delegates are expected

to familiarize themselves with the instructions, as given in the constitution and by-laws. This will do away with a lot of confusion and misunderstanding.

Job delegates' credentials are initialed, showing the industrial unions for which they are organizing and the cities in which the industrial unions' headquarters are located. Those for 1923 are as follows:

"AG," Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, Chicago, Ill.; "LU," Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, Chicago, Ill.; "MM," Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210, Butte, Montana; "CM," Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, Butte, Montana; "WP," Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; "GC," General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310, Chicago, Ill.; "BC," Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, Chicago, Ill.; "3S," Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, Chicago, Ill.; "FS," Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, Chicago, Ill.; "TR," Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, New York City; "RR," Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, Chicago, Ill.; "SU," all small unions, Chicago, Ill.

Organizing the Unorganized

The job delegates, thus credentialed and instructed, approach the unorganized to join the industrial union of the industry in which they are employed. Sometimes this work is rendered easy by bad conditions. Strikes ensue and the enrollment is very rapid and big, as a result. So often is the subsequent drop of membership, when the strike excitement has subsided. Job delegates, under any and all circumstances, must acquaint the unorganized with the principles, forms and tactics of the organization. The unorganized, upon expressing a willingness to join, are required to fill out applications for membership.

The application for membership consists of two questions, which the applicant signs; the remainder is filled out by the job delegate, as follows:

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Appl. No.....
Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?.....
Will you study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purpose?.....
Name
Occupation..... Industry.....
Address..... Street
City..... State.....
Date..... I. U. No..... Card No.....
Initiation..... Dues..... Ass'mt..... Total.....
Del. Name.....



ON THE JOB WITH THE DIRT MOVERS

Job Branch

The job delegate issues membership books, constitutions, etc., to the new members. Further, he organizes them into a job branch. This consists of 7 or more members working on that job. They are organized for the purpose of holding regular job meetings and discussing job problems. They elect their own job delegate, secretary, treasurer, grievance, strike, auditing, publicity, lecture, entertainment, trial, and other committees. The job delegate opens meetings and acts as chairman; the secretary records the proceedings, the grievance committee formulates and presents grievances to the employer, the strike committee conducts strikes, the auditing committee audits books, and so on; each and every committee functioning within certain well defined parliamentary and practical limits.

Of course, the job branch is affiliated with the industrial union in which it is operating. A job branch in general construction is located in the general construction workers' union; one in the lumber industry, with the lumber workers' industrial union; and so on throughout the entire list of industries. Its affiliation is expressed through its own elect-

ed job delegate, acting in co-operation with the industrial union.

Committees Representative

The job branch makes it a point to have representatives of all the trades working in any place of employment, whether on a construction job on a highway, a lumber camp in the woods, or a factory or plant in the city, on all important committees, such as wage scale, grievance, strike and other committees. There are no distinct trade lines; yet all the trades are equally well looked after. Harmony is provided by all working together for their mutual industrial and class interests. This process is helped along by standardization and the destruction of trades by automatic machinery.

In general, the job branch, with all of its modifications, leads up practically to the workers' council and shop stewards' movement; for job is united to job, factory to factory and plant to plant by way of the industrial union and its system of representative bodies, such as the industrial district council and the general district councils. But of this more anon. Let us consider in our next article, the industrial union branch.

To Fellow Worker Frank Little

MURDERED BY THE COPPER TRUST SIX YEARS AGO TODAY

WE NEVER FORGET!

WE'LL remember you, Frank Little!
They couldn't still your voice,
So they strangled it;
They couldn't chill your heart,
So they stopped it;
They couldn't dam your life blood,
So they spilled it.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
They didn't come in the broad of day
And warn you that in a world
Being made safe for Democracy
There was no safety for you.
In the dead of night they came
And pounced on you,
Dragged you out as if you were an animal
Without daring to let you put your clothes on
Or bind up your broken leg.
They spared you no indignity,
They withheld from you no shame;
Afterward, no doubt, they washed their hands
With the air of men who've done their bit
In the cause of freedom.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
The papers said: "So far as known,
He made no outcry."
No, not you! Half Indian, half white man,
All I. W. W.
You'd have died ten thousand deaths
Before you'd have cried aloud
Or whimpered once to let them
Enjoy your pain.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
Long after the workers have made the world
Safe for labor,
We'll repeat your name
And remember that you died for us.
The red flag that you dropped
A million hands will carry on;
The cause you loved
A million tongues will voice.
Good bye, Frank Little!
Indian, White man, Wobbly true,
Valiant soldier of the great red army,
We'll remember you!

Phillips Russell.



The Climb to Calvary

J. BERNEDINE TEVIG

FREEDOM! FREEDOM! What is freedom?
This we know:

Man has died for thee and for thy seed to sow.
Far beyond the bridge of history's span
Freedom was the Light and Goal of man.
When man was little more than brute and beast.
He supped and died at Freedom's feast.
Since man first pinioned man to slavery
Freedom vowed that man should be free.
The noblest hearts of every age
Has in Freedom's name been outraged.
From Freedom's altars, where hopes burn high,
Comes the unending, undying cry:
"If you seek Truth, if you will be free,
Come, come live, labor, die if need be!"
They come, they come to dungeon, rack and beast,
They are the victims of Freedom's bloody feast.
They died for lies that Truth might come;
They died for myths and called them Freedom.
They died that a God might give them joy,
They died that a God they might destroy;
In Freedom's tracks are littered the dead
As each bloody step has upward led.
Upward....Onward....Still slavery....
Service....Pain....Death....But never free!
The path of labor is the path of pain

To the burden-bearer hope was vain;
But beyond the seas of blood and tears
The final Goal dimly appears—
Today man climbs to Calvary
That man may labor and yet be free!

Our Defense

Vera Moller.

IN the end the loss or triumph of the case shall
not be hung,
On the golden ease and smoothness of a hired
lawyer's tongue
Nor ably or how bungling every man shall plead his
cause,
Its something beyond the courtroom that makes
judge and jury pause.
For they sense the mighty forces in the mutterings
of unrest
And the songs of hope and freedom rising in the
Workers breast'
And wherever men are willing for their beliefs to
do and dare,
There's a cause that stands behind them and
they feel its power there.
Over treachery and cunning, thru all darkness and
suspense,
'Tis the cause itself shall triumph and in that
is our defense.

Facts for Arguments

The home guards are up against it. They are getting fewer in numbers. A writer in Keith's Magazine says the proportion of home ownership has been falling off at the rate of 10 per cent in each 3 years. Less than 50 per cent of the American people own their homes now. We are becoming a nation of renters. And even as such our hardships are growing. In 1913 the average man spent 20 per cent of his income for rent. In 1921, he spent 40.

Fifteen billion person rode on the electric railways of the United States last year, according to the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission. This was an increase of 15,000,000 over the previous year.

Heart disease is increasing in frequency. From 1910 to 1920, the increase amounted to 18.3 per cent in Chicago, 25.3 per cent in New York, 40.9 per cent in Boston and 47.6 per cent in Syracuse. School children, industrial workers and young men as a body are among those showing a comparatively large number of heart defects. The strain of preparing for life under capitalism, is becoming no less dangerous than that imposed when hustling for a livelihood.

Roger Babson has issued an interesting chart showing the periods of prosperity and depression in terms of commodity prices from 1790, at the end of the American Revolution, to 1920, after the end of the World War. Under the title "History Repeats Itself" the following explanation of the chart is given. "It will be noticed that after the Napoleonic Wars and after the Civil War in 1865, there was a rapid downward movement, such as took place in 1920-1921. After these downward movements, in 1815, and 1867, the chart shows there was an upward movement, such as we have experienced during the past two years. After this temporary upward movement, however, conditions then set in for another decline which further completed the readjustment. Statistics clearly indicate that the United States is now entering a similar decline."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor issued on July 19th an interesting statement of the price movement during the month of June. There was a decrease of 2 per cent in the wholesale prices of all commodities and a decrease in the wholesale prices of foods amounting to 1½ per cent while for the same month there was an increase in the retail prices of foods of 1 per cent.

On July 7 a dollar would purchase only 64.8 cents worth of goods, compared to its value in 1913, according to statistics of Prof. Fisher, money expert, basing his figures upon a compilation of prices of a number of essential commodities.

In January, 1922, the dollar bought 72.6 cents, compared with prices before the war. The low level of the dollar in purchasing power was reached in May, 1920, when it bought only 40.5 cents, compared to the 100 per cent dollar of 1913.

According to Washington dispatches, the national wealth of the United States amounts to \$3,600 for each resident. That means that each family's share would amount to \$18,000 if the total were equitably distributed. This fact appears in the official records of the treasury department covering finances for the year ending June 30.

The national income is estimated at about \$70,000,000,000 for the year. This should mean a per capita income of about \$3,180 if incomes were fairly distributed. In that case, of course, each family would be able to save some of its income each year and the total of these savings would create the capital necessary for maintaining and improving the country's productive resources.

The result, however, would be that the country would be owned by all the people instead of by a fraction of 1 per cent of the people.

N. H. Comish, professor of economics and sociology in Oregon Agricultural College, has written a book analyzing the elements of consumption. According to Comish's figures the American standard is nothing to boast of. In 1910 one-sixth of all the families in the country were on or below a pauper standard, an additional one-third were just able to sustain a bare subsistence, less than half the families in the country were able to maintain a health and comfort standard estimated at anything over \$800 a year. On the other side of the class line less than one twenty-fifth of the families in the United States lived in luxury.

During the last year Labor has attempted to collect on pre-election promises of industrial legislation. According to the National Industrial Council in 34 states, 32,599 bills were introduced and 8,340 became laws. In general the agitation to reduce the working day by law has not been successful. In Wisconsin the Eight-Hour Day measure was defeated. A similar measure was defeated in New York, Ohio and West Virginia. Bills for a nine-hour day are pending in California, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. The campaign for minimum wage laws was generally unsuccessful. Old-age pension laws were enacted in Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. In Colorado anti-labor legislation forbidding strikes in public and semi-public industries without notice and a preliminary arbitration effort was passed over the protest of labor. Idaho repealed its State Constabulary law but the bill to repeal the West Virginia State Cossack law was defeated.

The financial section of the Berliner Tageblatt, (Berlin, Germany), one of the foremost capitalistic newspapers on the European continent, has published a two-column article entitled, American Labor Banks. It gives exhaustive statistics concerning the ownership, capitalization and reserves, location and date of organization of the eleven labor banks already in existence, and of ten banks in process of organization.

The Tageblatt observes that the American labor movement "has always aimed at the immediately practical." It quotes the Index, monthly organ of the New York Trust Co., as authority for the statement that the American banking world "welcomes experiments of this nature for the simple reason that the appreciation of business and financial matters among the workers grows thereby." This utterance of American banking capital the Tageblatt characterizes as "cautious and wise."

The International Typographical Union reports that it has paid out thirteen million dollars in strike benefits for the 44-hour week, and when their report was made some sixty-thousand members were still on strike. These millions were raised mainly by compulsory assessments on the wages of members at work. They are mainly located in Chicago and New York.

The imports of foreign raw material to this country for the fiscal year which ended in June, 1923, aggregated nearly 2½ billion dollars, as against an annual average of less than one billion dollars for the years immediately preceding the war. This illustrates the growing imperialistic, industrial tendencies of the country, which necessitate the import of products in payment of export of capital.

Hay acreage in the United States has increased in eight years by three million acres. In crops other than hay there has been a decrease of almost two-million acres. Here, as in England, sheep and grass are increasing—the regular signs of reversion of land from agricultural to pastoral use. The American farmer is losing out.

At Del Mar, California, Rancho Santa Fe, a 9,000 acre estate, is being developed as a model community for orchardists by the Santa Fe Land Improvement Co., a subsidiary of the Santa Fe Railroad system. The company is working on the theory that a community planned from the beginning and built accordingly will be better than a city that "just grew."

One billion dollars a year are spent in business bribes, according to Howard R. Heydon, president of the Commercial Standards Council. These figures are worth bearing in mind when we are told about the "unimpeachable integrity and honesty of business men." They not only pay bribes but take them, too. They are crookeder than politicians, as the politicians would not be crooked if it wasn't for them. Back of political crookedness is business.

The Louisiana State University library contains a copy each of Karl Marx's Capital and Thorstein Veblen's The Theory of The Leisure Class. The first has been borrowed three times since placed there in January, 1917. The second has never been borrowed, though in the library since Feb., 1918.

The Co-operative Fallacy

THE members of the working class are constantly being urged to embrace co-operation, that is, organize co-operative societies. This, it is claimed, will provide them with training for industrial control and solve the problems of capitalism.

The workers should be warned against such deceptions. For co-operation is simply a more democratic form of stock-corporation. When successful, it includes more persons in its benefits and experiences, but these only extend to its own membership, who are generally a very small minority of the working class.

The main defect of co-operation is its continuance of the profit and wages system. The profits go to the co-operators—the shareholders, the purchasers—and the wages to the employees. The result is strikes, just as in or against any other corporation of a capitalist nature.

England is the native heath of co-operation. Just now England is the scene of a unique labor struggle. It is the combined strike and boycott waged by The National Union of Distributive Workers against the Co-operative Wholesale Society. The cause is the action by the Society in cutting wages, abolishing wages during sickness, and cutting the yearly holiday in half. The workers claim that the Co-operative wishes "to alter wages how they chose, when they chose, and where they chose" and are "defying the whole trade union movement just like Lord Penryhn of Bethesda, and William Martin Murphy of Dublin." As the Co-operative refuses to arbitrate, this looks true. The capitalist corporations also proclaim "there is nothing to arbitrate."

From this it will appear that co-operation instead of solving capitalism is merely aggravating it.

As for getting training in industrial control, the workers already have it. They are now controlling industry for the capitalists. What they need to do is to control it for themselves, instead. Once they awaken to that fact they will not need to step out of their proper sphere to experiment with modified forms of corporations in order to get the industrial training which is already an accomplished fact.

Co-operation in the last analysis is dislocated experimentation. It's an attempt to fit trained workers into positions where they do not belong. It is to make, for instance, coal miners and overall dealers of railroad men; instead of leaving them on the railroads, there to oust the stock-jobbing, profit-mongering railroad plunderers, the financiers.



"CANNING" THE TECHNICIAN

THE impression prevails quite generally that workmen of rare technical and mechanical abilities are free and independent; especially of the financial and other restrictive and oppressive policies of corporations.

Just now in railroad circles there is much discussion going on regarding the victimization of certain superintendents:

C. E. Fuller, general superintendent of motive power of the Union Pacific Railroad, has been let out after 13 years of service. Fuller bears the reputation of being one of the most expert mechanical superintendents on American railroads. Some people go so far as to say he is superior to all the rest.

H. N. Curry, after 11 years' faithful service on the Northern Pacific as superintendent of motive power, has also been dismissed.

W. C. Smith, superintendent of motive power of the Missouri Pacific, was also suddenly discharged recently.

Such treatment may account for the increasing tendency among technicians to sympathize with the wage workers and to condemn the present system.

Mortimer E. Cooley, president Federated American Engineering Societies and dean of the engineering schools of the University of Michigan is one of these.

Cooley, like innumerable other engineers, believes the world's industrial machine is going to pieces. "Unless a new point of view is adopted," he says, "which will remove the reasons for the growing distrust and suspicion in the ranks of the workers, an uncontrollable situation will result."



FORD CONFIRMS I. W. W.

HENRY FORD is ignorant of many things. His views on the origin of labor unions, for instance, are a joke. So also is his failure to recognize the capitalist class nature of politics and finance. And to these may be added his inability to grasp the necessity for the upward development of the working class in his theory of social evolution. To subvert the workers to Fordian industrial autocracy is to promote social degeneracy and decay. It is to create a few colossal profiteers and armies of slaves.

It is only when he advocates the application of the technological method to the solution of political problems that Henry Ford shines. This enables him to see the international character of industry and to urge free trade and internationalism in conformity with it. It also provides him with a knowledge of the overtowering importance of industrialism in modern life, as evidenced in the interview by Chas. Wood in *Colliers*.

Therein Ford gives expressions to these half-formed but wholly sound ideas:—

"The industrial organism is stronger and healthier than the political organism. It has more life flowing through it, more energy. Wouldn't wonder if industry would eventually absorb the political government."

"We speak in awe of our 'form of government' and even pass laws making it a crime to criticize it. You can't imagine an industry thriving if it considered its form of organization beyond criticism."

Also "Society is evolving toward the industrial idea."

In all this Henry Ford simply confirms the I. W. W.



A NEW GENERAL STAFF

THERE are many who think that the organization of the working class on industrial union lines is not enough to secure working class emancipation. They argue that industrial unionism, like concrete, must be reinforced, preferably by politics, though co-operation is also thrown in for good measure, occasionally.

They are informed that there is no objection to their joining a political party or a co-operative society, in addition to an industrial union, if they so choose. But, as for industrial unionism in general, it entertains a far better opinion of itself than they do.

This opinion is based on contemporaneous facts. On all sides the capitalists are virulently opposing the growth of industrial unionism. Note the Brockton Shoe Workers' revolt. Also the Nova Scotian miners' strike in sympathy with the steel workers. Both are recognized as attempts to convert

the A. F. of L. to industrial union principles, forms and tactics. And both are opposed by the capitalists as such.

On all sides the capitalists are also attempting by means of gunmen, injunctions, etc., to destroy even the strike activities of the A. F. of L. In the case of the railroad organizations, for instance, the latter are prevented from doing everything under the sun, except to permit their members to remain alive enough to be exploited for capitalist profit. Despite all this, strikes increase and workingmen insist on organizing.

Now, why these capitalist attempts at the prevention of industrial unionism and the destruction of trades unionism? Are the capitalists engaged in fighting **futilities**? Or do they fear the evolution and development of a unionism that strikes at the very heart of their own system?

Possibly, the capitalists are not as good strategists as are the critics of industrial unionism. They ought to employ the latter as members of their general staff. These critics will tell them what's essential and what's insufficient. They know!

IN MERRIE ENGLAND

THE British Labor Party is the cause of much enthusiastic imitation in this country. Many workers refer to it as though it is a revolutionary socialist organization, when it is only the left wing of English liberalism. At the annual conference held recently, Mr. Sydney Webb pointed out that the British Labor Party is a parliamentary and not a revolutionary party. He also said that the English labor movement derived its inspiration from Robert Owen and his idea of universal brotherhood and not from Karl Marx and his theory of class warfare.

There is no doubt that, if the British Labor Party ever succeeds to power, as is likely, it will be an exact counterpart of the German Social Democracy. It will be the agent of British capitalism, willing to do its bidding, just as the German Social Democracy is the agent of Stinnes and Co., intent on executing its policies.

Should war ever come between France and England, the workers may rest assured that the British Labor Party will be the "goat" just as the Social Democracy is in Germany.

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Push Industrial Pioneer!

Modern Science and Materialism

Reviewed by WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

WHAT is the meaning of this world of ours? What is it all about? Where did all these ideas I hear or read about come from? What is their value? Is there any purpose in this process we call civilization? Are we getting anywhere? What are the facts and forces with which we have to deal? What can we do, if anything?

Some or all of these questions are asked by every person who awakens to the fact that a human being may be something better than merely a part of the landscape, something higher than a toll for somebody else's convenience or profit.

How many ever ask any worthwhile questions such as these? Very few. Why? Partly because, as some one remarked after the examination of our young men in the draft, "We are a nation of Sixth Graders," partly because the educational agencies of America could hardly be more futile for the purposes of dynamic citizenship if they had been organized with the set purpose of defeating the hope of national and social progress—this, too, because, in the words of California's foremost educator: "the schooling mechanism for training men to be serfs has been passed down, unchanged by tradition, to become the schooling system of American democracy for the training of free-born, thinking, self-responsible, government-making citizens of the 20th century."

A Fascinating Book

Is it any wonder that Hugh Elliot, in one of the most fascinating and convincing books yet written in the field of experimental physics—"Modern Science and Materialism"—should say: "Nothing can be more palpably false than the system of ideas now reigning throughout civilization!"

In that one sentence lies the supreme justification and inspiration for such a splendid contribution as he has made to clear thinking and dynamic action. For, as he truly says, "when once we have acquired true habits of thought, the fight is over; true modes of conduct and activity will flow inevitably from them."

What has Mr. Elliot done in this book? This: first, he has shown with resistless logic what the inevitable limitations of the human mind are—the indispensable starting point of all useful or fruitful thinking. Savages and primitive men do not know the meaning of ignorance—never know that they do not know. What do these savage and primitive minds—many of them surviving in civilized society today and occupying places of power and influence in existing commerce and government—do? Why, they simply fill the abysmal gaps in their ignorance, as Elliot says, with superstitions.

Well, what do we know about the way in which knowledge is gained at all by men? The answer is

easy: knowledge of the external universe is gained solely thru sense-impressions. How many senses has man for receiving these impressions? Five. Suppose he had but one—taste, or smell. Well, for one thing he wouldn't be man at all. Suppose he had a hundred or a thousand senses instead of but five. How inconceivably more he could know of the universe, and what an inconceivably different thing it would be to him!

But, using the pitifully few senses he possesses, what does he find to be the forms which sum up all the phenomena of the universe to his consciousness? These: matter, energy, life, consciousness. These cover the whole of human experience.

The task which Mr. Elliot set himself in this fascinating volume was to report in simple language and in most readable form exactly what experimental physics has to say about these four things. If there is in the whole range of human thought one proposition which may be accepted as final, it is this: Science will always say the last word concerning any problem our minds can consider. If any one doubts that, he should read Andrew Dickson White's "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom." Elliot's work is the latest word of physical science on the subjects discussed.

Constitution of Matter

Well, what does physics find to be the constitution of matter, and what is the nature of energy? It has found that, as all matter is composed of molecules, all molecules in turn are composed of atoms, and finally that all atoms are composed of **electrons**, or charges of electricity. Most startling of all, it is found that while there are negative electrons and positive electrons, there is absolutely no difference between one electron and another.

It is found, then, that molecules differ from one another because they contain different numbers of atoms, different kinds of atoms, or atoms in different relations to one another in the molecule. But atoms differ one from another solely because of the different number of identical electrons they severally contain. It is seen, further, that matter and energy are not two things, but merely different phases of the same thing. More than that, experimental physics declares that the final unit of existence—all existence—is the electron—that the universe is simply the seat of electrons.

Life and Consciousness

In the words of Elliot, summing up a part of his discussion: "The electrons are not matter, they are not energy; but from them both matter and energy are born. The electrons combine together in a number of different ways, and we get a corresponding variety of atoms. The atoms combine, and we get molecules. Some of these molecules contain vast numbers of atoms. These complex entities combine again to form the still more inconceivably elaborate substances called proteins. And yet again the protein molecules join together into systems, till we get still another substance, protoplasm, where the in-

credible degree of chemical elaboration has reached such a state as to have lost all semblance to the simple reactions of the laboratory. The sum total of these reactions is so far beyond the range of chemical analysis that we can do no more than lump them together and call them collectively by a new name—Life. Nor have we yet done. Further elaboration of the molecules of protoplasm gives rise to a new and distinctive set of reactions, which again paralyze the intellect of Man; and he can do no more than invent a name for them—he calls them Consciousness."

But no review and no quotations from this book can begin to do justice to it. It is as fascinating reading as a novel. Besides, to digest this book is almost to add a cubit to one's intellectual stature, to stimulate one's mind, and to afford a starting point for vastly more fruitful thought and action than are possible without such knowledge.

[Publishers, Longmans, Green & Co., New York City.]

Economic Action Growing

THE importance of the economic weapon in the struggle for a better society is gaining widespread recognition. Its use by the Negroes in the South has already resulted in reforms beneficial to them. The Negro, by withdrawing his labor power from this backward section, has advanced much further than he otherwise would have done.

But, apparently, he has not travelled far enough for he is considering other means of an economic character to achieve still greater gains than are already his. Through his race economic organization, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Negro is urging a general strike in the South itself, as a means wherewith to get rid of the many disabilities imposed on the Negroes still remaining there.

The African Blood Brotherhood sees the overthrow of peonage and the complete emancipation of the Negro race in the South made possible through economic pressure, calling this weapon the greatest of all, greater than prayer or ballot, to both of which the Afro-Americans are strongly addicted. Undoubtedly, such a course would demonstrate the dependence of the South on the Negro, a dependence that, properly employed, can be converted into an agency for independence.

A general strike of the Negroes in the South would be a belated bit of action somewhat similar though less bloody than the general uprising that the Randolphs feared when in their anxious eloquence they pict-

ured the awful possibilities of the chattel slaves' awakening.

A South, in the collapse of a complete labor withdrawal, may then learn the dependence of its institutions on self-respecting workers, such as the Negroes will prove themselves to be once they engage in a general strike in that section. It would then make concessions, as it has already done, to a limited extent.

But the Negroes are not the only persons in this country alive to the importance of economic action. It is a well-known fact that farmers—big farmers especially—advocate economic remedies instead of political devices. They withdraw acreage from cultivation; which is the same thing as withdrawing labor, for it is labor applied to the land that makes acreage.

These farmers recently had a national wheat conference here in Chicago. Alonzo Taylor, food scientist, spoke before them. Says a report of the proceedings:

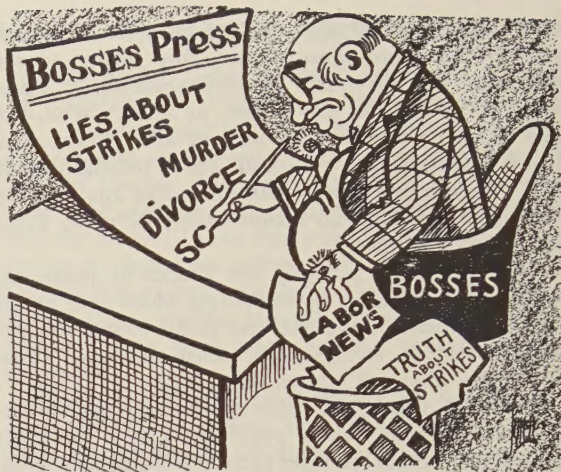
"All governmental, all political devices for solving the wheat growers' present woes were shattered by Dr. Taylor. The American wheat acreage must be accommodated to American needs, with no more dependence on Europe's needs and demands than was customary before the war. Along with the tendency towards centralization, however, there must at the same time be an opposite tendency toward trying to expand the domestic internal wheat market. Americans are eating less wheat than formerly. The wheat trade and the flour trade and the baking trade must entice them back to their original wheat appetites."

Here, then, we have two typical, though divergent, domestic examples of the growing importance of action via economic agencies. If we went abroad we could find more, as in the passive resistance movement of the Ruhr or the boycott movement of the nationalists of India, for instance. But let these suffice to show the necessity of cultivating economic means for the reform and abolition of capitalism, by the workers industrially organized. Such means strike at the heart of capitalism while, at the same time, developing the agencies that will eventually supplant it.

More new leaflets are issuing from the I. W. W. press. They are entitled "Does The I. W. W. Preach Violence?" "Destroying the Home," and "Why Not Shorten the Hours?" The second leaflet is especially good for homeguards and city workers.

The Textile Workers' Industrial Union No. 410 is not making much noise. But internally it is working hard to perfect and extend organization.

Forty-eight



Buy the Working Class Press

The I. W. W. press consists of the following 13 publications in ten different languages:

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Address above 10 publications at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Send subscriptions there.

Muncitorul, (Roumanian), weekly, per year, \$1. Address: 13492 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.

Drop a postal for sample copies.

Another I. W. W. Paper

"Industrijalni Radnik" is the name of the latest addition to the I. W. W. press. It is printed in the Croatian language, and means Industrial Worker. It will carry the message of industrial unionism to Croatian workers, of whom there are many in this country, employed in mining, construction and other basic industries. Publication will be twice a month.. The price is \$2 per year, \$1 for six months; bundle orders, 3 cents per copy. Address, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER